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ANCIENT EGYPT

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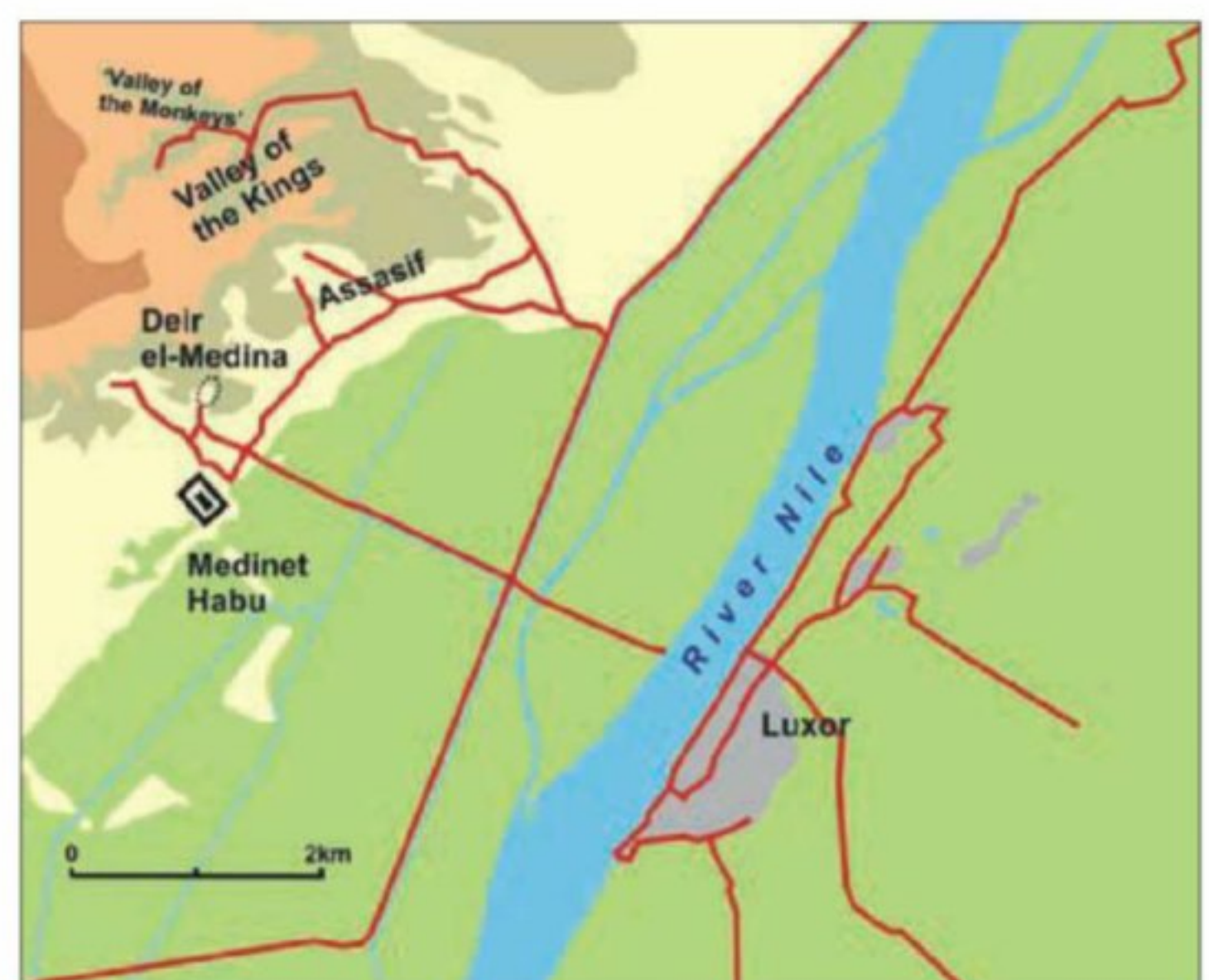
MAP of EGYPT

Periods	Dynasties
500AD	
250AD Roman Period	
AD	
BC	
Ptolemaic Period	
250BC	
Late Period	28-30
500BC	27
	25-26
750BC	
3rd Intermediate Period	22-24
1000BC	21
New Kingdom	20
1250BC	19
	18
1500BC	
2nd Intermediate Period	
1750BC	13-14
Middle Kingdom	12
2000BC	11
1st Intermediate Period	
2250BC	6
Old Kingdom	5
2500BC	4
	3
2750BC	2
Archaic Period	1
3000BC	
3250BC Predynastic Period	
5500BC	



RIGHT:
detailed map of
the Theban area

Maps
and Time-line
by Peter Robinson.





ABOVE: One of the items *not* on display at the *Tutankhamun: Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh* exhibition – the solid gold inner coffin, photographed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Photo: RBP

Although the items on display in the *Tutankhamun: Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh* exhibition in the Saatchi Gallery in London will be familiar to many of our readers who have visited the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, a few have not been on display before. The exhibition has also moved very decisively into the modern high-tech world with a virtual reality experience (for an extra fee) that Deputy Editor Sarah Griffiths strongly recommends. Absent, of course, are the gold mask and the king's solid gold innermost coffin (*see above*) – they are too valuable both in monetary terms and as tourist attractions in Egypt ever to be allowed to leave the country. I suspect that many of the visitors to the London exhibition will be surprised to find that the tomb contained so many other artistic masterpieces. As I understand, all the Tutankhamun treasures are being re-located to the new Grand Museum near the Giza Pyramids, so that tourists can see the two main Cairo attractions in a single visit.

Aidan Dodson's first article on the Serapeum, on the other hand, contains information and images that will be new to readers, since the site is not normally open to visitors. Also unfamiliar will be the site of Naukratis revealed in Roger Forshaw's article – there is so little left to see of this former bustling port that it is unlikely that tour buses will ever include it on their itineraries! But the Khentkawes monument at Giza described by Geoffrey Lenox-Smith is an enigma: more than a *mastaba* but not a pyramid. The lady was so important that she had a whole village full of priests employed to celebrate her funerary

cult, so she was undoubtedly royal. Next time you visit Giza, take the time to wander a little further afield to view the remains of her burial place.

At the end of the News section, Sarah has included a description by the Chairman of the Plymouth and District Egyptology Society of their activities, on the occasion of their twentieth anniversary. Congratulations to them and to all the many Egyptology groups throughout the UK and worldwide who do so much to promote the study of the subject! Don't forget that the contact details of UK and Overseas Societies are included at the end of every issue of the magazine.

Do you know the difference between hieroglyphs, cursive hieroglyphs, hieratic and demotic? I must admit that I would have had difficulty in telling them apart until I read Hilary Wilson's exposition in this issue's *Per Mesut*. Regular readers will notice a couple of omissions from their usual fare in *AE* 117: lack of space has forced us to postpone Readers' Letters until the next issue, and the Gebel el-Silsila Project team are busy packing up from this season's work; they are having a well-earned Christmas break but will back in the New Year with a look at Ramesside Gebel el-Silsila.

And finally, for those if you still looking for Christmas presents for those relatives and friends who already have everything – how about an annual gift subscription to *AE* (see page 62)?

Season's Greetings and
a Very Happy and Healthy 2020 to you all!

JPP



ABOVE: The newly-discovered Asasif coffins *in situ*.

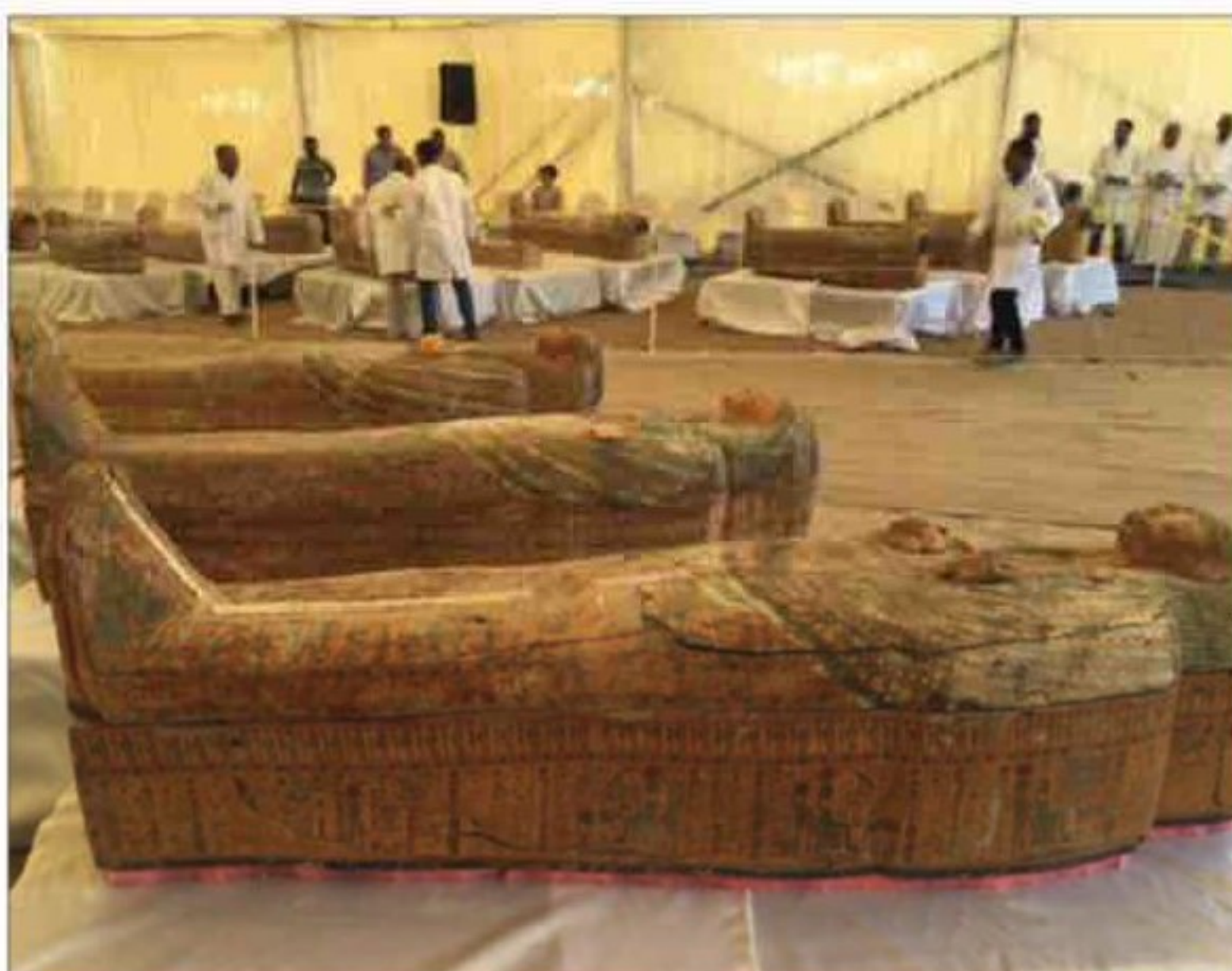
BELOW: The 30 coffins after recovery.

TOP RIGHT: One of the coffins which has been opened, showing the well-preserved mummy inside



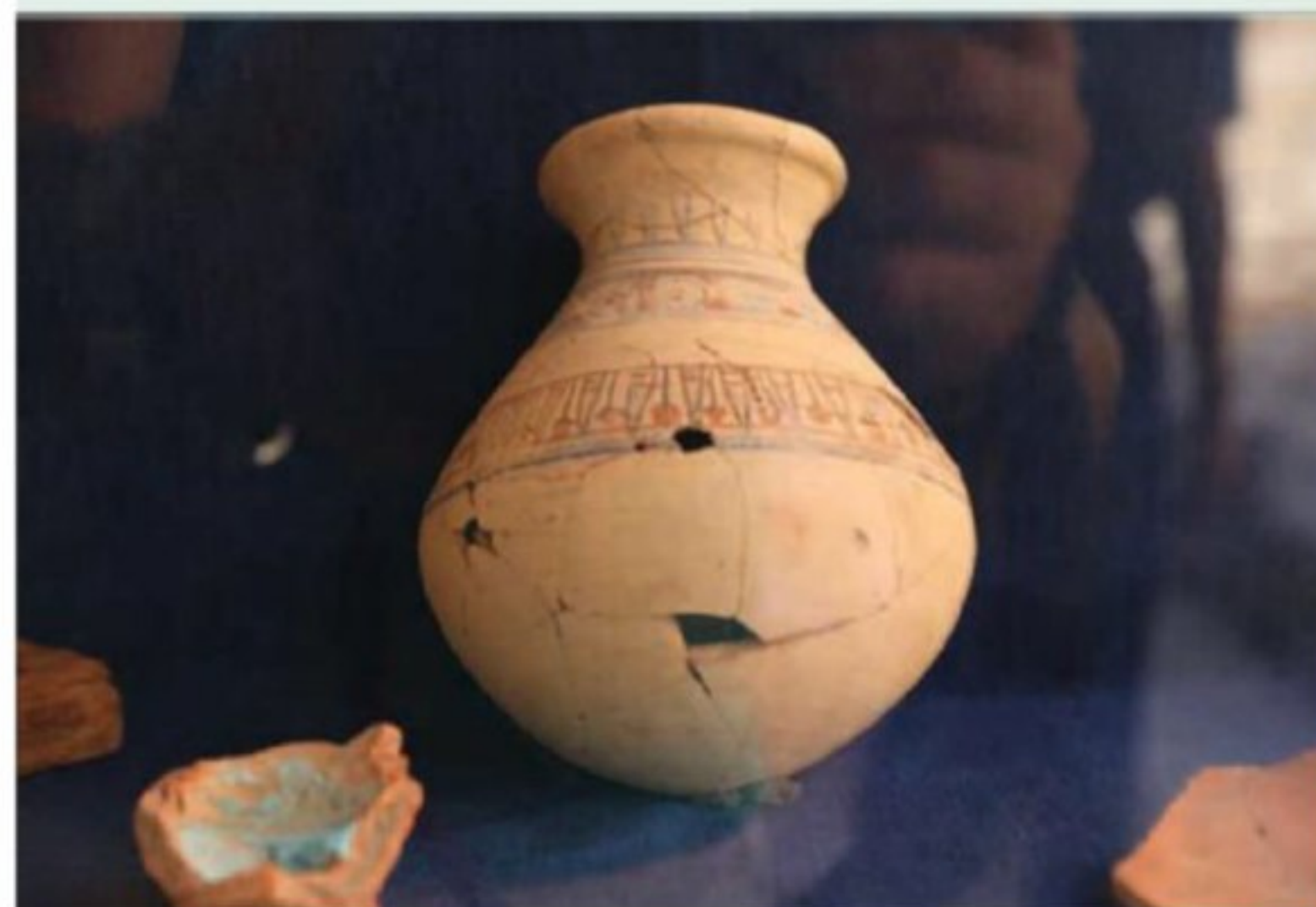
Valley of the Monkeys

The Egyptian mission led by Zahi Hawass working in the 'Valley of the Monkeys' to the west of the Valley of the Kings have announced their findings so far, including an industrial area with pottery kilns and some thirty workshops for the manufacture and storage of funerary furniture (*below*), dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty. As well as a water storage tank used by the workers, the team uncovered a scarab ring (*opposite, top left*), pottery (*bottom right*),



ABOVE: An aerial view of the workshops in the 'Valley of the Monkeys'.

BELOW: A decorated pot found in the 'Valley of the Monkeys'.



Cache of thirty coffins from el-Asasif

A 3000 year-old cache of thirty intact painted coffins has been discovered in the el-Asasif cemetery on the West Bank at Luxor. The sealed coffins, all in good condition, belonged to a line of Twenty-second Dynasty priests and priestesses of Amun and Khonsu. They are thought to have been hidden at the end of the Dynasty by a priest trying to protect the bodies of his ancestors during a period of unrest.

The coffins were found grouped on two levels, with eighteen coffins housed on the first level and twelve above in a second level (*see top left*). Some of the coffins are fully painted with scenes from the *Book of the Dead* and bear the titles of the deceased; several others are partially painted and several have no decoration. The group includes twenty-three male, five female and three child coffins. Two of the coffins have been opened (*top right*) and were found to contain the well preserved mummies of a man and a woman wrapped in linen. The coffins will go on display at the new Grand Egyptian Museum.



ABOVE: A scarab ring found in the workshops in the 'Valley of the Monkeys'.

BELOW: Jewellery inlays found there.



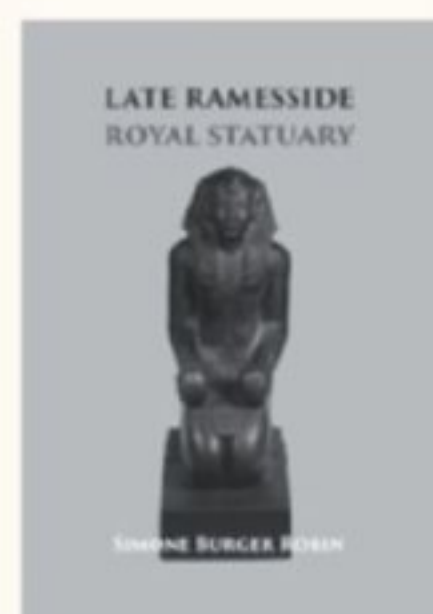
hundreds of jewellery inlays (*above*) and other golden objects used to decorate royal coffins. A new tomb, KV65, has also been uncovered, containing tools used in tomb construction.

Roman-era Catacomb

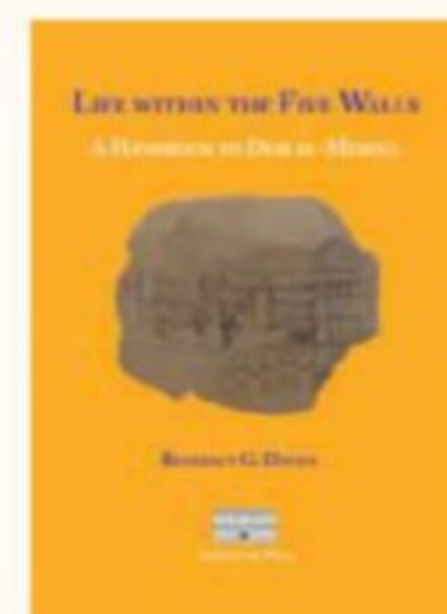
A joint Egyptian-Japanese mission has discovered a Roman Period catacomb tomb in North Saqqara, the first from this period to be found in the area (*see overleaf, top left*). The domed mud-brick building enclosed a staircase leading to a rock-carved room containing a re-used Egyptian style stela depicting the gods Sokar (*overleaf, top right*), Thoth and Anubis with an added Greek inscription and two cat-like limestone guardian statues (*overleaf centre left*).

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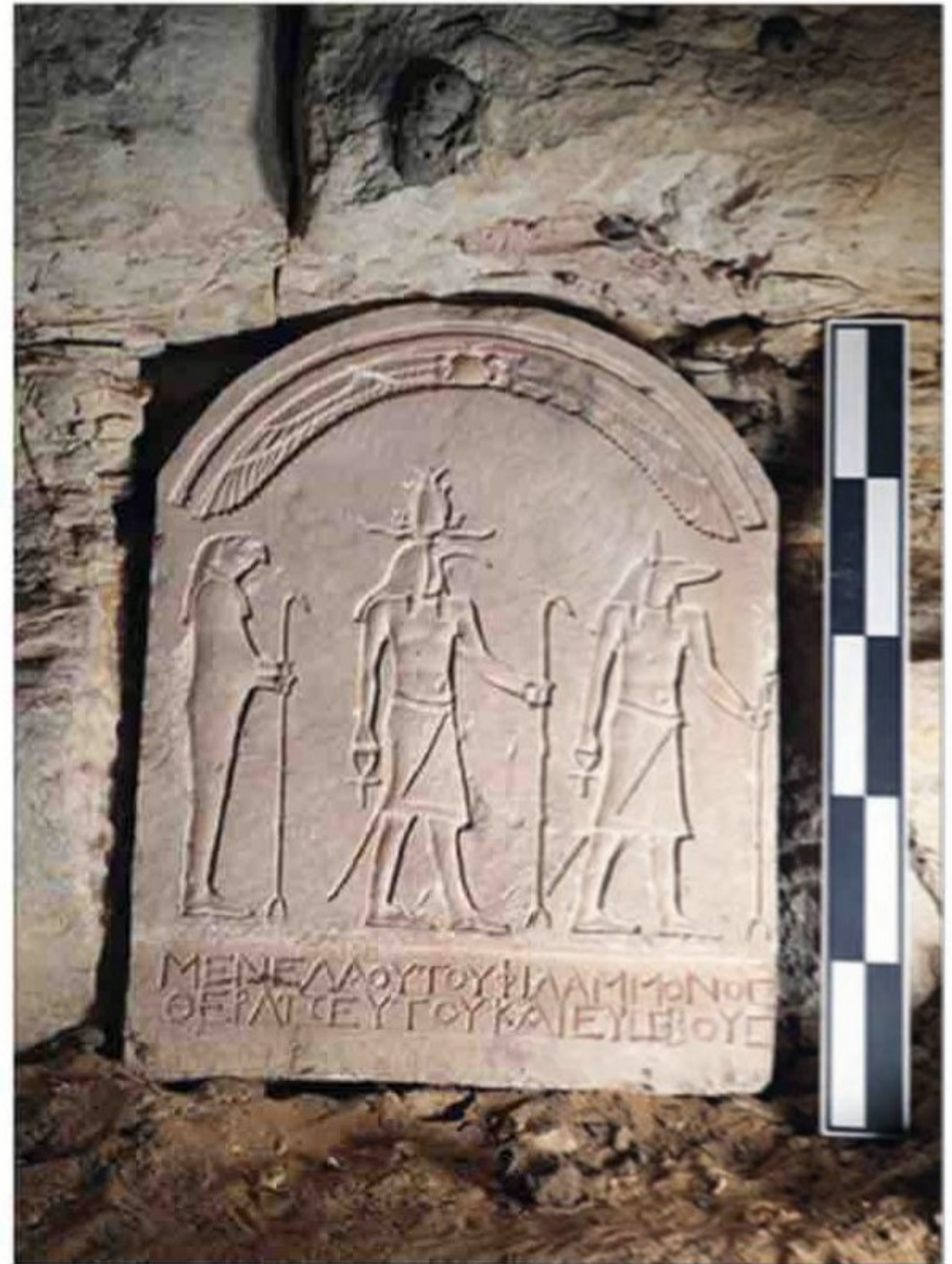
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TOP LEFT: The exterior of the Roman catacomb tomb found at North Saqqara.

TOP RIGHT: A stela found in the tomb, showing Sokar, Thoth and Anubis with a Greek inscription.

ABOVE: Two cat-like guardian statues in the tomb.

RIGHT: The tomb owner with her pet dog.

BELOW: A collection of terracotta female figurines found in the tomb.

The tomb appears to belong to a lady called Demetria, who is shown in a carving with her pet dog (*right*). A number of small terracotta female figurines were also recovered from the tomb (*below*), with a larger terracotta statue of Isis-Aphrodite and some human remains.





ABOVE: Part of the walls of the Ptolemy IV temple at Sohag.

INSET: The cartouche of Ptolemy IV, establishing the temple's origins.

Ptolemy IV in Sohag

The Ministry of Antiquities has carried out rescue excavations to the remains of a Ptolemy IV temple in Kom Ishqaw, Sohag, after stones from the temple were discovered during the installation of new sewage system in the area. Parts of the east-west and north-south walls have so far been uncovered (*above*) together with carved reliefs of Hapi, god of the Nile and the cartouche of Ptolemy IV (*inset photo*).

Middle Kingdom Funerary Map

A funerary map discovered in 2012 in a tomb at Deir el-Bersha has just been identified as the oldest known copy

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of the *Book of Two Ways*. The map was etched into the coffin panels of an elite woman called Ankh and dates to the Middle Kingdom, although the spells themselves were found in Old Kingdom pyramid inscriptions. The *Book of Two Ways*, part of the so-called Coffin Texts, refers to two zig-zag paths that the deceased must take, and the obstacles and demons to be faced, on the journey to the realm of Osiris.



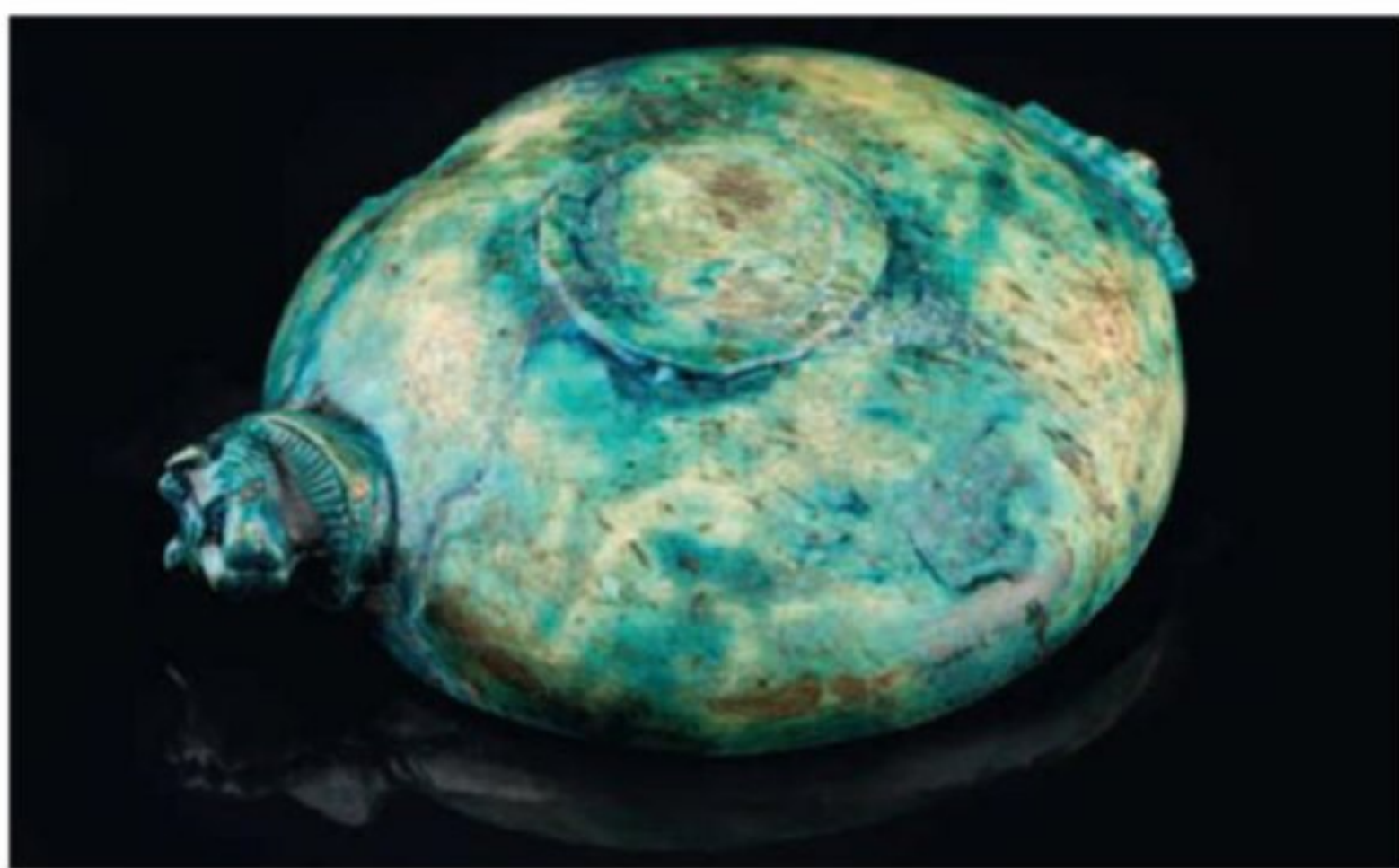
ABOVE: A sacred ibis mummy from Saqqara, now in the British Museum. Photo: JPP

Animal Mummy Production

Australian researchers from the Griffith University have shed new light on the practice of animal mummification in ancient Egypt. Ancient texts suggest that the millions of sacred ibis sacrificed as votive offerings (*see above*) were farmed on an industrial scale to meet the demand. Such practices would involve high levels of inbreeding. However after analysing the DNA of fourteen ancient Egyptian mummified sacred ibises and twenty-six modern samples from across Africa, the team discovered that the ancient birds show a high level of genetic diversity, similar to that of modern wild birds. It appears rather than rearing birds, demand was met by capturing and taming flocks of wild migratory birds.

Ishmailia Graeco-Roman Cemetery

A multi-layered cemetery has been uncovered by an Egyptian team working at the Hassan Dawood archaeological area in Ismailia. The upper layers contained mass graves made of mud-brick which date to the Graeco-Roman era while the lower layers contain burials dating back to the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period. The tell site is on one of two main trade routes linking Egypt and Asia.



ABOVE: The restored blue-glazed bowl in Bolton Museum. Photo: © Bolton Council

Bolton Fragment

A chance discovery has matched a small faience fragment from Bolton Museum with its original bowl after a former Bolton curator, Tom Hardwick, spotted the vessel in a private German collection as it was about to go to auction. The bowl, dating to the reign of Thutmose III, has been bought by the museum and is now on display with its missing piece restored (*bottom left*).

Mummy Parade and Grand Opera

At the recent press launch of the London Tutankhamun exhibition, Minister for Antiquities Khaled el-Enany announced he is planning a grand pharaonic parade through Cairo for the royal mummies when they are transferred to the National Museum of Egyptian Civilisation. Inspired by the Presidential welcome given by France to the visiting mummy of Ramesses II, Dr el-Enany is planning a cortège of chariots to be accompanied by an official presidential guard, with the people of Cairo lining the streets to pay their respects. He also announced that a new archaeology museum would open in Sharm el-Sheik in February next year.

At the same meeting, Zahi Hawass announced that he will be revealing Tutankhamun's actual cause of death early in 2020. He also declared that after having to sit through hundreds of performances of *Aida*, he has now written his own opera and hopes it will be performed at the opening of the Grand Egyptian Museum in autumn next year.

BREAKING NEWS

Saqqara Lion Mummies

An Egyptian mission working at Bubastian necropolis at Saqqara has discovered a collection of mummified animals and animal statues so large it has been described as being "a museum by itself". Dating to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and found together with a relief bearing the name of Psamtek I, the collection also includes five mummies thought to be lion cubs, together with mummified cats, a collection of 75 wooden and bronze statues of cats, mummified scarab beetles (one the largest ever found), cobras and crocodiles, and wooden statues of a variety of animals including the apis bull, ibis, falcon, mongoose, crocodiles and the god Anubis in animal form. Other finds include a wooden statue of the goddess Neith, 73 bronze statues of Osiris, 11 wooden statues of Sekhmet and a beautifully carved wooden face (*see photos of a selection of the finds opposite*).

In Brief

- A team from UCL London has analysed the genome of a 3000-year-old specimen of ancient Egyptian emmer wheat and discovered it shares characteristics with modern forms of wheat, suggesting these traits must have evolved before emmer was introduced to Egypt from the Near East.
- Imaging of relief fragments from the Memphis palace of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty king Apries (*see his*

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY FINDS AT SAQQARA

1
A mummy thought to be of a lion cub.

2
A very large mummified scarab beetle.

3
Cat mummies.

4
The mummy of a sacred ibis.

5
A finely-carved wooden face.





ABOVE LEFT
Tutankhamun's sarcophagus in KV62 without its lid.

ABOVE RIGHT
A statue head of Apries, now in the Musée du Louvre.
Photo: RBP

BELOW RIGHT
Tutankhamun's sarcophagus with its lid restored.



statue head, right), held by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, has identified two complex forms of yellow pigment used in seventeenth-century Dutch Baroque painting, but never before identified in antiquity.

- The lid of Tutankhamun's quartzite sarcophagus in KV62, has been put back into place on top of the sarcophagus (*above and below*); an announcement on whether or not the body of Tutankhamun is to be moved to Cairo was due as we went to press.

- The Museo Egizio Turin has launched a new web site dedicated to the museum's papyrus collection, with 54 papyri already available to research: <https://collezioneepapiri.museoegizio.it>

And finally ...

An Egyptian plastics artist living in Brazil has opened a Museum of Egypt in the city of Canela in Serra Gaúcha. The museum boasts a pylon entrance with an avenue of sphinxes, plastic statues representing famous pharaohs, and a pyramid with a mortuary chamber decorated like an Egyptian tomb. The city already enjoys separate museums devoted to "Hollywood Dream Cars", chocolate and the Beatles.

SG



Except where indicated, all the images in the News section of this issue of *AE* were provided by, and are copyright of, the Egyptian Ministry of State for Antiquities.

Society's Twentieth Anniversary

March 1987 saw the first formal meeting of the Manchester Amateur Egyptology Society (now the Manchester Ancient Egypt Society), the first public group dedicated to Egyptology. Now there are over thirty such societies across the UK; a thriving lecture circuit allows established professionals to share the results of their research with an increasingly knowledgeable audience and provides vital public speaking experience for younger Egyptologists at the beginning of their careers. As the Plymouth & District Egyptology Society celebrates its twentieth anniversary this year, Chairman **Janis Naylor** describes how the society began:

The 11th of June 1999 saw a meeting of a small group of people in Plymouth, Devon – their passion was ancient Egypt. Their intention was to set up an Egyptology society to aid the increase of knowledge in the city. Initially called 'The Plymouth and District Egyptian Society' (now the Plymouth & District Egyptology Society), the first official lecture meeting was held on Friday, 8th October 1999.

It was extremely pleasing to see that our membership numbers gained steadily over the intervening years, and we are proud to say that we have an annual membership of between forty and fifty currently, some of whom were part of the original group from 1999. We are one of the smallest groups in the country, but we have been honoured to receive many wonderful speakers during the past twenty years. From students starting their careers through to top-flight lecturers, all our guests have kindly accepted invitations to come to Plymouth. This invariably

entails a long journey for our visitors and we are always indebted to them for continuing to support both large and small Egyptology groups.

Over the years we have undertaken long weekend visits to European cities where museums offer Egyptian collections, plus private time to enjoy the sights and sounds of our destinations. We also visit a national trust property local to our group where the library holds three wonderful books of the prints of David Roberts. Many members of our society have enjoyed trips to Egypt. Over recent years we have held Egyptology study days in Plymouth that have proven very successful, and one of our society aims is to help, where possible, with donations towards conservation and preservation work in Egypt.

October 2019 therefore saw the acknowledgement of the 20th anniversary of our society, and P.A.D.E.S will continue to celebrate this achievement throughout our season, which ends in May 2020. Our grateful thanks continue to go to all those who maintain the support, passion and interest in the study of ancient Egypt.

The society meets on the first Saturday of each month from September to April, at the Quaker House, 74 Mutley Plain, Plymouth, PL4 6LF.

You can find contact details for all UK societies on the back pages of every issue of *AE* Magazine, together with a comprehensive listing of lectures, courses and study days.

SG

BELOW LEFT: Members of the Plymouth & District Egyptology Society visiting Deir el-Bahri in February.

BELOW RIGHT: The P.A.D.E.S. Committee (from left to right) – Pat Lissenden (Treasurer), Nora Green (Minute Secretary), Jill Porthouse (Lecture Secretary), Jean (our new Membership Secretary), Rob Dixon (Meet & Greet), Beverly Chapple (Magazine Editor & I.T.), and Janis Naylor (Chairman).

Photos: P.A.D.E.S.



The Young Lady in Pink

Jan van Daal & Branko van Oppen de Ruiter's examination of the mummy portrait of a young woman in a pink tunic offers an occasion for further thoughts about its dating and context.



ABOVE: The Amsterdam portrait of the young lady in a pink tunic, shown with her left side as an infrared reflectogram (APM inv. no. 14.232).
Photo: Jan van Daal

The Allard Pierson Museum, which houses the archaeological collection of the University of Amsterdam, owns a Romano-Egyptian mummy portrait which we will call the 'Young Lady in Pink' (APM inv. no. 14.232). This funerary portrait (*shown above*) is painted on a wooden panel and was originally inserted into the linen wrappings of the mummified remains of a deceased woman. Like most examples of the surviving painted mummy portraits, the provenance history of the Young Lady in Pink cannot be fully traced back to its final resting place. It may well derive from the Fayum, perhaps even from the cemetery of Crocodilopolis (present-day Hawara), like many others, but this cannot be proven.

Painted on a greenish-grey background, the strikingly naturalistic panel portrait of a wealthy woman perhaps in her mid-twenties is shown with her head turned slightly to the (viewer's) right – thus foreshortening the (proper) left side of her face and hiding her left ear. She has a lively glimmer in her eyes, although her right eye bears marks of the artist's unsuccessful attempt to correct its size. Her curly hair is neatly coiffed and probably bound together at the back of her head into a bun or braid. She wears large pearl pendants in her ears, a luxurious pearl and emerald necklace on her slender neck and a distinct pink tunic (*chiton*) with fairly narrow black stripes (without a mantle, *himation*, over her shoulder). Even in the light of the low average life

expectancy in Roman Egypt (c. 40 for men and less for women), she appears to have passed away at an early age.

Provenance and Acquisition

The Young Lady in Pink first came to Amsterdam as a permanent loan from the Gemeentemuseum (Municipal Museum), The Hague, in 1998 – which has more recently been transferred to the collection of the Allard Pierson Museum. The Gemeentemuseum had acquired the portrait at the Parisian art market in 1952 from the estate of Arthur Sambon (1867-1947), a French antiquities dealer, ancient art historian and numismatist. Sambon, in turn, had purchased the portrait from the MacGregor collection at a Sotheby's auction in London, where it had been put on sale in 1922. Farther back it cannot be traced with certainty. As this brief sketch illustrates, however, the panel portrait has – what art dealers like to call – an 'impeccable provenance' descending from the collections of connoisseurs.

The MacGregor Collection

The Rev. William MacGregor (1848-1937) was vicar of St. Editha's Church in Tamworth, Staffordshire, England. He had joined the newly-founded Egypt Exploration Fund around 1885 and assisted Édouard Naville during excavations in Memphis and elsewhere. As vice-president of the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, MacGregor also spon-

sored excavations by W. M. Flinders Petrie at various sites. Through his family wealth he was able to purchase a vast collection of Egyptian antiquities. This collection of 'Aegyptiaca' was second perhaps only to that of Friedrich W. von Bissing. For unknown reasons he put more than eight thousand of these artefacts up for auction in London. Through Constant W. Lunsingh Scheurleer, the Allard Pierson Museum eventually acquired several other pieces from the MacGregor collection (see below).

It may have been through his acquaintance with Petrie that MacGregor obtained the portrait of the Young Lady in Pink, which would then likely derive from Hawara. But that cannot be ascertained. The oblique angles at which the panel has been cut are a common feature of the mummy portraits from the Fayum (Hawara or Rubayat), and less so, for instance, than of those from Antinoopolis in Middle Egypt.

Research into the provenance of an artefact is not only important for establishing its *bona fide* acquisition history. It also illustrates the afterlife of the object: in this case it passed the hands of expert collectors, before entering the collection first of an art museum and then an archaeological museum. It is uncommon that museums present the full acquisition and provenance information on labels in the gallery installations (although it is often available in online catalogues and/or publications). Visitors of the Allard Pierson Museum can better understand the broader collection history in the recently opened Collectors' Cabinet (see page 16). Here, surrounded by display cases with artefacts from the collections of some of the most prominent contribu-

tors to the museum; an interactive presentation encourages viewers to trace the pathways experienced in the second lives of a select number of objects.

Material and Technique

Like the majority of the Roman-Egyptian mummy portraits (nearly 75%), the panel is likely made of linden or limewood (*Tilia* sp.), as its thickness (ca. 1.5 mm) seems to confirm. Preliminary non-invasive technical examinations were performed in June 2018, and a second round of further analyses took place in March-April 2019, both times at the Rijksmuseum Ateliers in Amsterdam. Non-destructive analysis of the painting revealed a peak for calcium – suggesting a calcium-based ground layer – as well as lead and iron – suggesting a basic inorganic pallet of lead-white and iron-rich earth pigments.

A high concentration of arsenic in the yellow shades of the Young Lady's right earring was noticeable. The presence of arsenic indicates that the mineral orpiment (a common yellow pigment in Egypt since the 2nd millennium BC) was used to evoke the gold of her jewellery. The major organic colouring-agent for the reddish tones, both on the woman's face and her tunic, is likely madder – mixed with calcium sulphate (gypsum) and lead-white for lighter shades.

Combining visual (naked-eye) observation, digital microscopy, x-radiography, infrared reflectography and ultraviolet photography was a fruitful method for understanding the painting techniques employed by the artist. Through these observations it was possible to establish first of all that the paint was applied in a thin and uniform layer of subtle brushstrokes.

BELOW

Three objects from the Allard Pierson Museum deriving from the MacGregor collection: a small silver wine vase decorated with acanthus and lotus leaves (APM 3397); a terracotta figure of a winged Eros playing the lute (APM 1985); and a small faience *amphora* decorated with floral motifs (APM 7592).

Photos: Stephan van der Linden; photo-edited by Branko van Oppen.

Courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam



The pearls of the woman's earrings and necklace have been outlined with a dark (possibly carbon-based) pigment. While this outlining cannot be qualified as an under-drawing, the kind of technique did provide the painter not only with an indication of the location and size of the pearls but also with the desired effect of shading after application of the lead-white.

A rouge blush was applied in remarkably thin and skillful brushstrokes on the proper left cheek. Highlights in the face – especially on the eyes, the tip of her nose, and above the upper lip, as well as over the right side of her forehead, along the nose and above her chin – give the portrait a brilliant expression.

Such a decidedly controlled painting technique and relative lack of impasto cannot be achieved with a paint based on pure molten beeswax and rather points to a paint based on dissolved or emulsified beeswax, known (paradoxically) as the cold-encaustic technique. Although this distinctive modelling reveals the masterful hand of the artist or workshop, there is as yet insufficient comparable data available for matching the Young Lady in Pink with other Roman-Egyptian mummy portraits. It is hoped that eventually the Getty APPEAR [Ancient Panel Paintings: Examination, Analysis, and Research] database will provide sufficient information for drawing such comparisons.

Dating and Chronology

The Roman-Egyptian mummy portraits, the world's oldest surviving examples of portrait paintings, are now generally dated between the early first to the mid-third century (c. AD 25-250). Various methods for narrowing the dating of specific portraits may be attempted, though none thus far has

pointed toward an absolute chronology. Stylistic elements are notoriously subjective for dating any ancient artefact – especially when the attempt leads to a periodisation of 'rise', 'highpoint' and 'fall'. In the case of the mummy portraits, stylistic differences may additionally be due to regional trends, workshops, expense, or other factors not yet understood – instead of chronology.

Secure archaeological contexts from controlled excavations tend to provide clear indications for dating the uncovered objects. The c. 300 portraits that derive from the collection of the Viennese antiquities dealer Theodor Graf were unearthed under clandestine circumstances at Rubayat (ancient Philadelphia). Graf recruited the German Egyptologist Georg Ebers to date them – and together they identified many of the Ptolemaic kings and queens among the portraits! This dating to the Hellenistic period and the Ptolemaic identifications did much to encourage interest in the portraits among Graf's potential buyers, but were of course completely erroneous.

Even Petrie's excavations at Hawara (the cemetery of ancient Crocodilopolis) could not offer more than a general periodisation to the Roman Imperial Age. Petrie thought he could find further clues in the jewellery worn on the female portraits. He devised a typology of the depicted earrings, necklaces and wreaths and developed a hypothesis of their chronology. Campbell Edgar, an Egyptologist based at the Cairo Museum, pointed out the error in Petrie's assumption that the jewellery could be so precisely dated. By the early twentieth century, most scholars agreed that the mummy portraits dated to the second and third centuries. The portraits from Antinoopolis (el-Sheikh Ibada), excavated by French archaeologist Albert Gayet, may be supposed

BELOW: The Collectors' Cabinet in the Allard Pierson Museum with displays (from far left to right) of Allard Pierson, Jan Six, Flinders Petrie, Friedrich von Bissing and Constant Lunsingh Scheurleer, with an interactive map in front.
Photo: Stephan van der Linden; Courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam





ABOVE: The Amsterdam portrait of the young lady in a pink tunic (APM inv. no. 14.232) is painted in a decidedly skillful style. The infrared reflectogram (*left*) proves the absence of an under-drawing and better reveals the outlines and shadings around the jewellery. The ultraviolet photograph (*right*) confirms the absence of a varnish layer. The pinkish fluorescence of the tunic indicates that an organic red pigment (e.g. madder) was used.

Photos: Jan van Daal (*left and right*) and Stephan van der Linden (*middle*)

to be no earlier than the reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138), as this emperor founded the Upper-Egyptian city.

Apart from archaeology, style and details such as jewellery, other dating methods have been proposed. It has long been understood that hairstyles reflect the fashions of Imperial Rome. Among the women's portraits, the similarity with Flavian coiffures intimates that early mummy portraits can at least be dated to the late first century (c. AD 69-96).

In sporadic instances, epigraphy may provide chronological indications, when the mummy or its portrait contains an inscription (in Greek or occasionally demotic). Objects, such as mummy tags [identifying the deceased by name and parent(s) and occasionally location], papyri or stelae, found together with mummies may offer further clues.

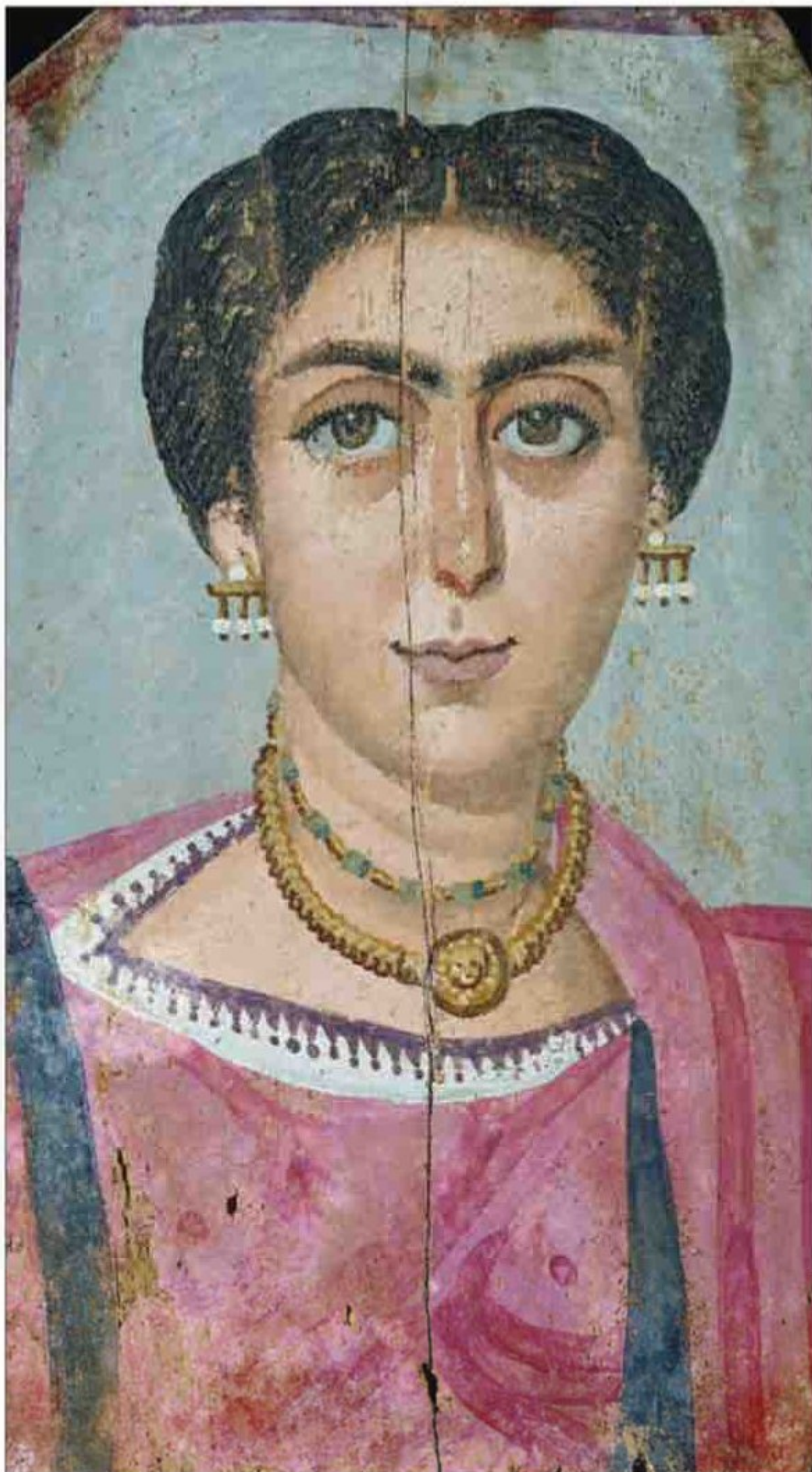
Another profitable method for gauging chronological clues is provided by the young lady's distinct pink tunic (*chitōn*). For, comparison with over 250 portraits (in the Getty APPEAR database), reveals that only ten are depicted with a similarly pink tunic – and all are women. While women's fashion shows a greater diversity than men's (mostly white) clothing, the most common colours for women's clothes on the mummy portraits are purple and red, (occasionally white or pink, and rarely ochre or blue). Whether this colour represents a trend of a certain period or region – or a characteristic of a specific artist or workshop – cannot be determined. It can be observed that the other nine examples have all been dated to the (late) second century. Two of these examples (portraits from Tebtynis now in the Phoebe Hearst Museum), can in fact be securely be dated to the period AD 140-190 based on their archaeological context.

The dating of the Romano-Egyptian mummy portraits thus remains a thorny issue. The portrait of the Young Lady in Pink is a case in point. When she arrived in Amsterdam from The Hague, Eric Moormann (Classics specialist at Radboud University Nijmegen) preferred to date the portrait to the late first century AD, on account of what he considered the Flavian coiffure (specifically from the reigns of Titius and Domitian, c. AD 79-96). German archaeologist Klaus Parlasca had previously dated her to the early Antonine period (c. AD 100-150), also on account of her hairstyle (which he compared to that of Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius); subsequently the portrait was re-dated erroneously to the third century. On the basis of the arguments presented above, however, we would here like to suggest a date of AD 140-190, or thereabouts.

(Art) Historical Context

It should be borne in mind that panel portraits were a funerary luxury attainable only for the wealthiest one percent. Why exactly the desire emerged to encase portrait paintings into the mummy wrappings has not been successfully explained. Possible explanations for their emergence should consider the social and cultural changes that occurred after Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire. A special status, including a tax privilege, was granted under Augustus to the citizens of district capitals such as Crocodilopolis.

Papyri and other documents demonstrate that many personal names among the population of the Fayum (and elsewhere) derived from Egyptian tradition, and that individuals



ABOVE: An encaustic panel painting of a lady with rich jewellery, from Rubayat via the Graf collection, dated the reign of Marcus Aurelius (c. AD 161-192) from the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna. Photo: KHM Vienna, Antikensammlung, inv. no. X-301; KHM-Museumsverband

could have double names. Ethnic and cultural identity, social-economic and legal status, were in other words, adaptable and intertwined, rather than well-defined and mutually exclusive categories.

While the tempera painting technique was invented in Roman Egypt itself, the encaustic method was based on an originally Classical Greek painting technique. Many of the panels were made of south-eastern European linden wood. A series of mummies cartonnages, incidentally, are painted in a bright red made from an iron-based pigment of a Spanish ore. The painting style is notably similar to the portraits on Roman wall paintings, such as that of Terentius Neo from Pompeii. Both the male and female hairstyles tend to follow Roman fashion; women's clothing (*chiton*, often with *himation*) is based on Greek tradition, while men usually follow Roman clothing (*toga*); and the jewellery is of

classically Graeco-Roman styles. The mummy portraits are, in other words, a proud testament to the intricately entangled culturally diverse society of Roman Egypt.

Closing Remarks

As quantitative technical and material data is becoming increasingly available about Romano-Egyptian mummy portraits, the Getty APPEAR database, although inaccessible to the general public may prove the decisive step toward encouraging more research, sharing the necessary information (at least among experts), and thus providing the resources for an overarching survey of the subject (*a summary document will be available later this year – see link below*). A comprehensive synthesis of various dating methods – based on archaeological context, associated epigraphic documents, technical and material data, artistic and stylistic features, jewellery, coiffure and clothing as well as regional variations – is desirable for establishing a more precise chronology. Despite evident general similarities – a preference for linden panels, the use of beeswax in hot or cold encaustic and/or ground animal bones in tempera techniques, mixed with a relatively simple palette of organic and mineral pigments, elongated facial proportions with overly large eyes – it will be in the analysis of the differences that the details of chronological, regional and artistic idiosyncrasies may ultimately be gauged.

**Jan M. van Daal and
Branko F. van Oppen de Ruiter**

Branko is an Adjunct Lecturer at the University of Groningen. He specialises in Ptolemaic queenship as well as Hellenistic iconography and ideology – on which he has published various articles and essays. As a visiting research scholar and curator at the Allard Pierson Museum, he carried out several research projects, focussing particularly on the Graeco-Roman Egyptian collection.

Jan holds an M.Sc. degree in Technical Art History from the University of Amsterdam and has a background in classical archaeology and Latin. He is currently working as a visiting research scholar at the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands. His main foci are material histories and artisanal studio practices, with a particular interest in Romano-Egyptian mummy portraits.

Further Reading

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Egypt of the Saite Pharaohs: 664 – 525 BC

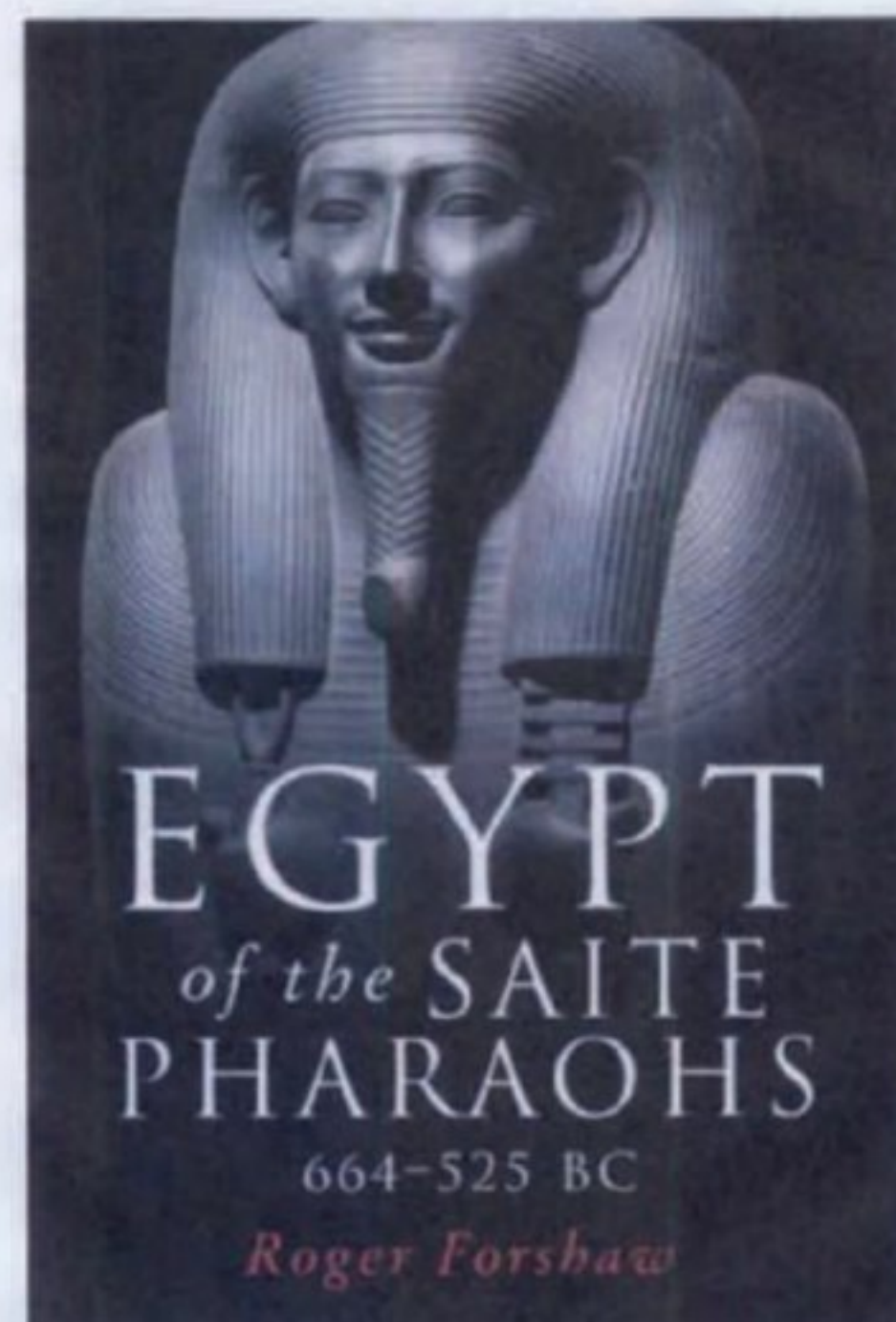
Roger Forshaw

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Roger Forshaw is Honorary Lecturer in Biomedical Egyptology at the University of Manchester

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36 black & white illustrations, 5 maps | Also available in Ebook



Tutankhamun:

Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh

As a touring exhibition of Tutankhamun's treasures arrived in the UK, **Sarah Griffiths** was one of the first through the door. She spoke to curator Tarek el-Awady and Minister of Antiquities Khaled el-Enany about the importance of the exhibition and their future plan for the boy king.

One of my clearest childhood memories is of queuing outside the British Museum for some four hours waiting to see the treasures of Tutankhamun.

Frustratingly, I was too small to see anything much over the heads of the crowd. That is not a problem with this latest exhibition. At the Saatchi, you can get close enough to each object to study every detail, with a 360 degree view of many of these stunning artefacts.

While the 1972 (British Museum) and 2007 (O2) exhibitions were larger, incorporating a wider range objects (such as items from the Tomb of Yuya and Thuya), the current exhibition focuses solely on the treasures from KV62, with all bar one of the 150 objects on display being from Tutankhamun's tomb. As curator Tarek el-Awady put it, this is the first exhibition to be "100% Tutankhamun". In selecting items for the tour, there were certain criteria, the most obvious being logistical, with many items too delicate to travel. And there were certain items that were not up for consideration, as Khaled el-Enany, the Minister for Antiquities (*shown opposite*), pointed out:

"The exhibition organiser needed big objects. He asked for the mask – we refused. He asked for the golden coffin – we refused. He asked for the gilded coffin – we refused. He

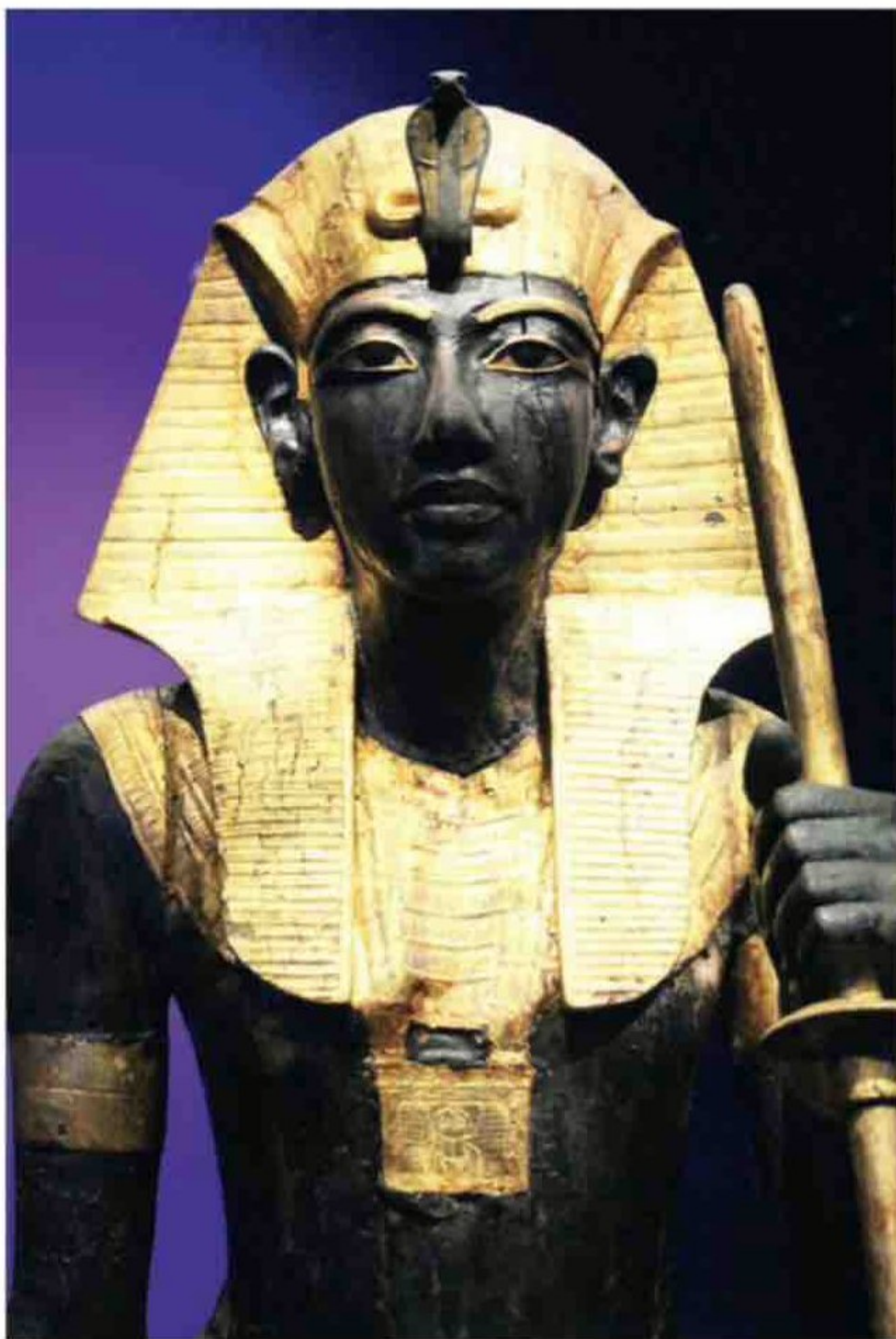
asked for the throne – we refused. So we had to compromise, to have attractive objects while leaving the very big masterpieces in Cairo Museum so as not to disappoint the tourists who go to Egypt."

Even with these restrictions, the resulting exhibition is spectacular and features sixty items that have never before left Egypt. Tarek el-Awady explained to me the concept behind his selection:

"Our goal was to choose objects from every room of the tomb to reflect the whole treasure. We have something from the chariots, we have one game from all the games and toys in the tomb, we have the gloves from all of his clothes, and we have jewellery. Some of the jewellery and amulets were actually attached to the king so were very important."

The jewellery in the exhibition is certainly stunning (*see opposite*) and includes: a gold pectoral inlaid with semi-precious stones with five large lapis lazuli scarabs; a golden pectoral with two baboons and a lapis

scarab on the solar boat, hung from a chain made of interlocking ankh, djed and was sceptre amulets; a golden bracelet with a wadjet eye; a gold and lapis winged vulture necklace; and a tiny golden figure, thought to be of Amenhotep III, on a golden chain. Other highlights include:



ABOVE: The stunning gilded wooden statue of the ka of Tutankhamun, one of the centre-pieces of the new exhibition.



ABOVE: Minister for Antiquities Khaled el-Enany, at the opening of the exhibition he described as "a teaser" to entice tourists back to Egypt.



JEWELLERY FIT FOR A PHARAOH

TOP RIGHT: A gold and semi-precious stone necklace with scarabs of lapis lazuli, ending in a pectoral with a large lapis scarab flanked by two snakes, resting on the morning barque of the sun.

LEFT: A gold pectoral with semi-precious stones featuring two baboons with faience and carnelian inlays and a lapis lazuli scarab, supporting the rising sun in the solar barque.

BOTTOM LEFT: A winged vulture pendant in gold with lapis inlays.

BOTTOM RIGHT: The tiny golden figure thought to be of Tutankhamun's grandfather, Amenhotep III.



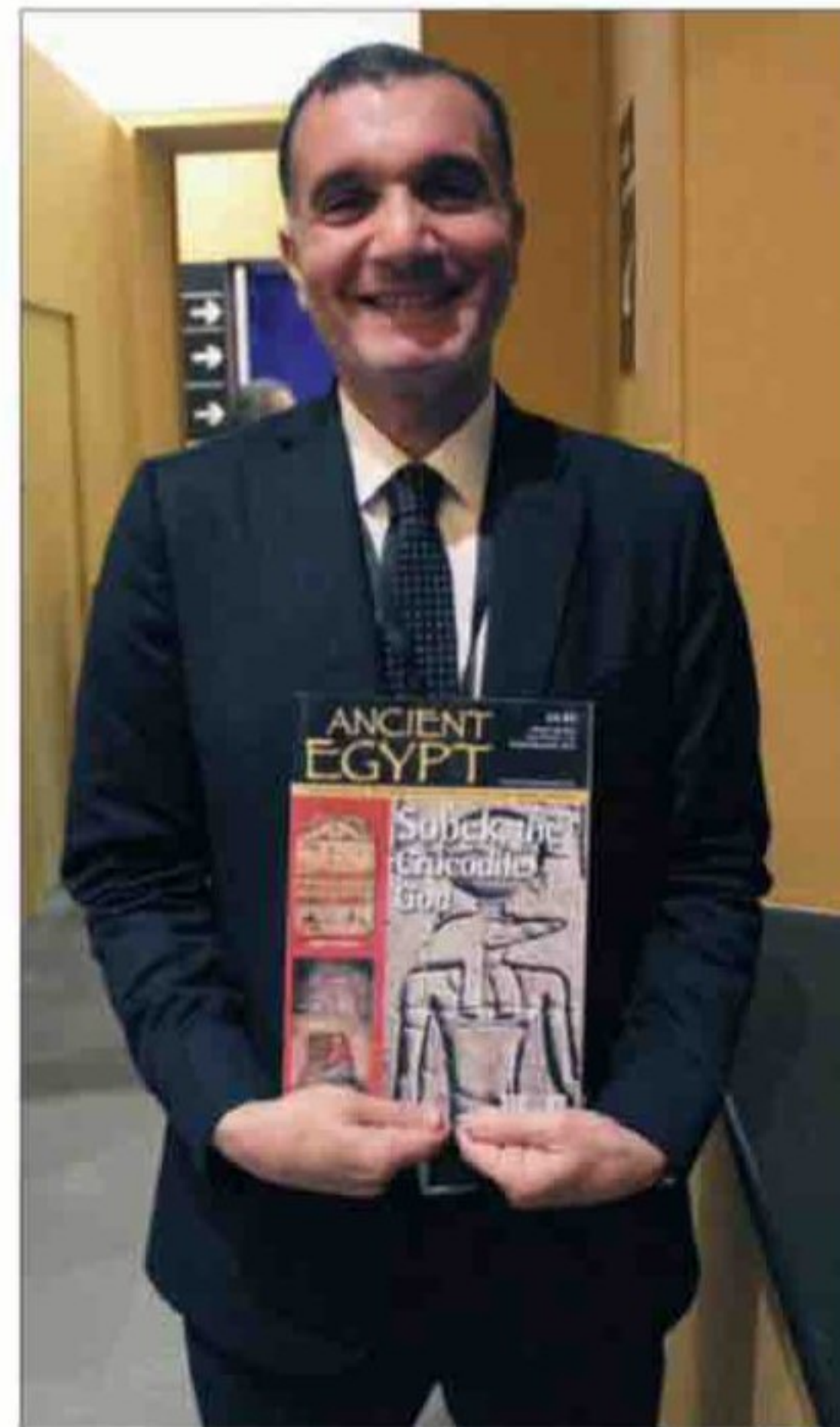


ABOVE LEFT

One of four golden canopic coffinettes, miniature versions of Tutankhamun's second coffin, which held the king's internal organs; traces of alteration to the cartouches suggest these were originally made for someone else.

ABOVE RIGHT

Exhibition curator Tarek el-Awady with a copy of his favourite magazine (*photo his idea, not mine – honestly!*).



an alabaster canopic stopper in the shape of Tutankhamun's head (p. 25); one of the large black gilded *ka* 'guardian' statues (p. 20); the golden shrine with scenes of Tutankhamun with his sister-wife Ankhesenamun; a tiny *senet* game (p. 25); a selection of *shabtis*, including a beautifully carved reclining statuette flanked by a *ba* bird and falcon (p. 24); gilded statues of Tutankhamun astride a skiff and riding a black leopard; a gilded statue of Ptah (Khaled el-Enany's favourite object! – see *opposite*); a model showcasing the gold and jewel-encrusted mummy bands (p. 24); the famous alabaster wishing cup (p. 25); and a gold canopic coffin (see *above*).

The artefacts are displayed across several rooms covering themes such as 'preparation for the afterlife', 'danger' (weapons and gods), 'rebirth' and Howard Carter's 'discovery of the tomb' in 1922. Many of the display cases include video animations highlighting details and giving context; there is also an introductory film at the beginning of the exhibition, although annoyingly it includes scenes of Ramesses II's Abu Simbel façade which was constructed some sixty years later! In the final gallery you have to walk around a huge partition to suddenly come face to face with a colossal statue of Tutankhamun that once stood at his mortuary temple, but was later usurped by first Ay then Horemheb (see *page 25*). The largest Tutankhamun object ever found, it gives a monumental finale to the exhibition – before you are channelled through to the very large shop, complete with *nemes* headdress sunglasses, Tut t-shirts, bottles of Egyptian sand (!) and a replica of the golden mask.

The exhibition has already visited Los Angeles and Paris and will open in more capital cities before returning to Egypt. Minister Khaled el-Enany describes the exhibition as "*an ambassador for Egypt*" – "*a teaser*", he says, to entice tourists back to Egypt. He says he enjoyed seeing Tutankhamun on buses and on publicity



ABOVE: Three gilded wooden figures of the king wearing the white (*left and centre*) and red (*right*) crown. The pronounced breasts and bulbous tummy reflect Amarna Period style.

BELOW LEFT: A gilded wood statue of Ptah (*the favourite object of Minister of Antiquities Khaled el-Enany!*) presented in his own display case with a large poster backdrop.

BELOW RIGHT: A beautifully carved *shabti* of Tutankhamun wearing the blue crown; it has a dedication from an army general Minnakht, who donated the *shabti* to the king.

posters all over London. The revenue generated by each leg of the tour (some 8 to 10 million dollars) is also important for the Egyptian economy, although the high ticket prices in

London have come in for some criticism in the British press.

The tour is being hailed as the final time ever that Tutankhamun's treasures will leave Egypt; but is this really the

case? When quizzed, Dr. el-Enany backtracked slightly, saying it was the final time "*for the near future at least.*"

So what is the future for Tutankhamun's treasures? Tarek el-





ABOVE: A beautifully carved statuette of the king lying on a lion-headed catafalque flanked by a falcon and ba bird.

BELOW: A mannequin of the king wearing gold and jewel mummy bands and holding his crook and flail. Seen in close-up on the right, the bands consist of interlinked golden plates with turquoise, carnelian, lapis and glass paste inlays decorated with the king's cartouche and uraeus snakes.

Tutankhamun: Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh, produced by the Ministry of Antiquities and IMG, with the support of Viking Cruises, will be at the Saatchi Gallery, London until 3 May 2020. Tickets:

www.tutankhamun-london.com/tickets

Sarah Griffiths

Sarah is Deputy Editor of *AE* Magazine and Secretary of the Manchester Ancient Egypt Society; she lectures to Egyptology societies across the UK. She holds B.Sc. Hons and Masters science degrees and the University of Manchester Certificate in Egyptology.

All photos taken at the exhibition by the author.

Awady (shown on page.22) is very excited about the plans for the collection:

"Only one third of the treasure has been on display in the Egyptian Museum due to the lack of space. The museum has a collection of more than 185,000 artefacts, and most of these objects are colossal statues and other big objects like stone coffins. Egypt wants to have the whole treasure of Tutankhamun exhibited in the right environment and space. Everything whether tiny or large that was found inside the tomb will be on display, all together, for the first time in the Grand Egyptian Museum, including items even Howard Carter had not seen. He worked for over ten years on the treasure, but there was no time for him and the team to do all the restoration required, so some items were left in boxes. Thanks to the GEM conservation centre, these objects are now being restored."

These items include two of Tarek's favourite artefacts: a newly restored pair of gold and jewelled sandals, and a small wooden toy which reminds him of the toys he himself played with as a boy.



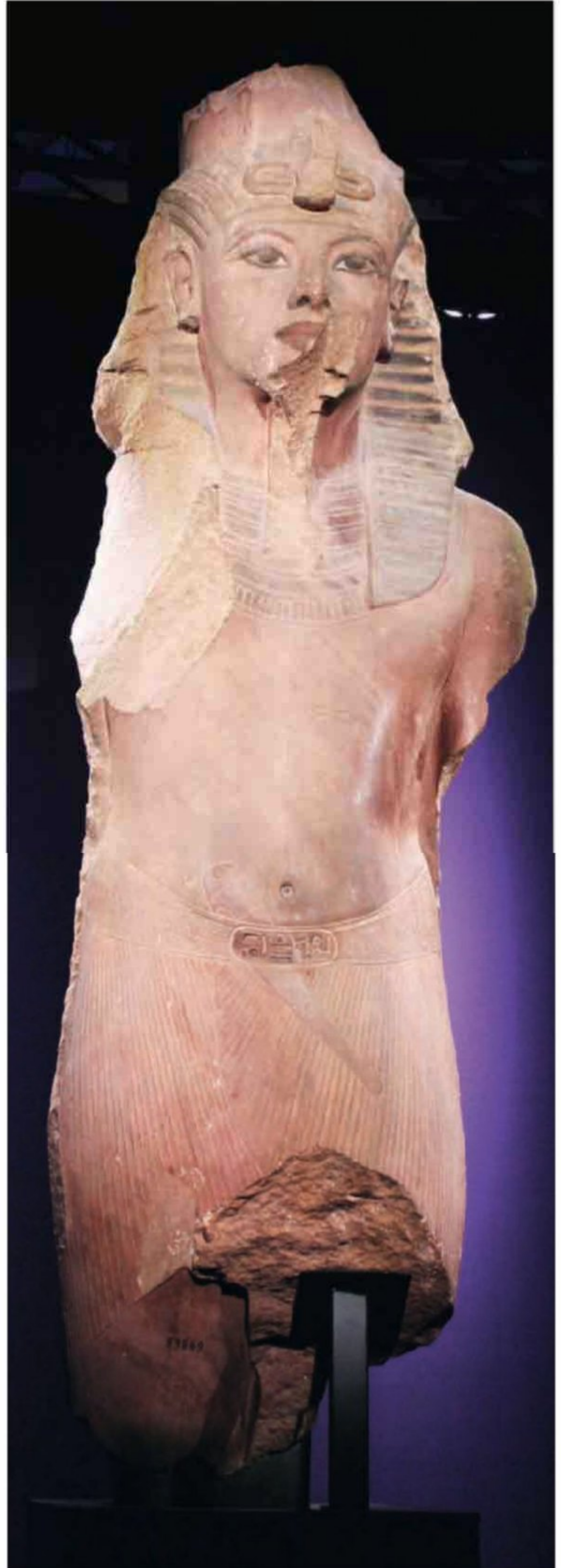


TOP: One of the four alabaster canopic lids resembling Tutankhamun with a *nemes* headdress.

ABOVE: An alabaster vase in the form of a lotus flower, known as the 'Wishing Cup' due to its inscription written for the young king around the rim.

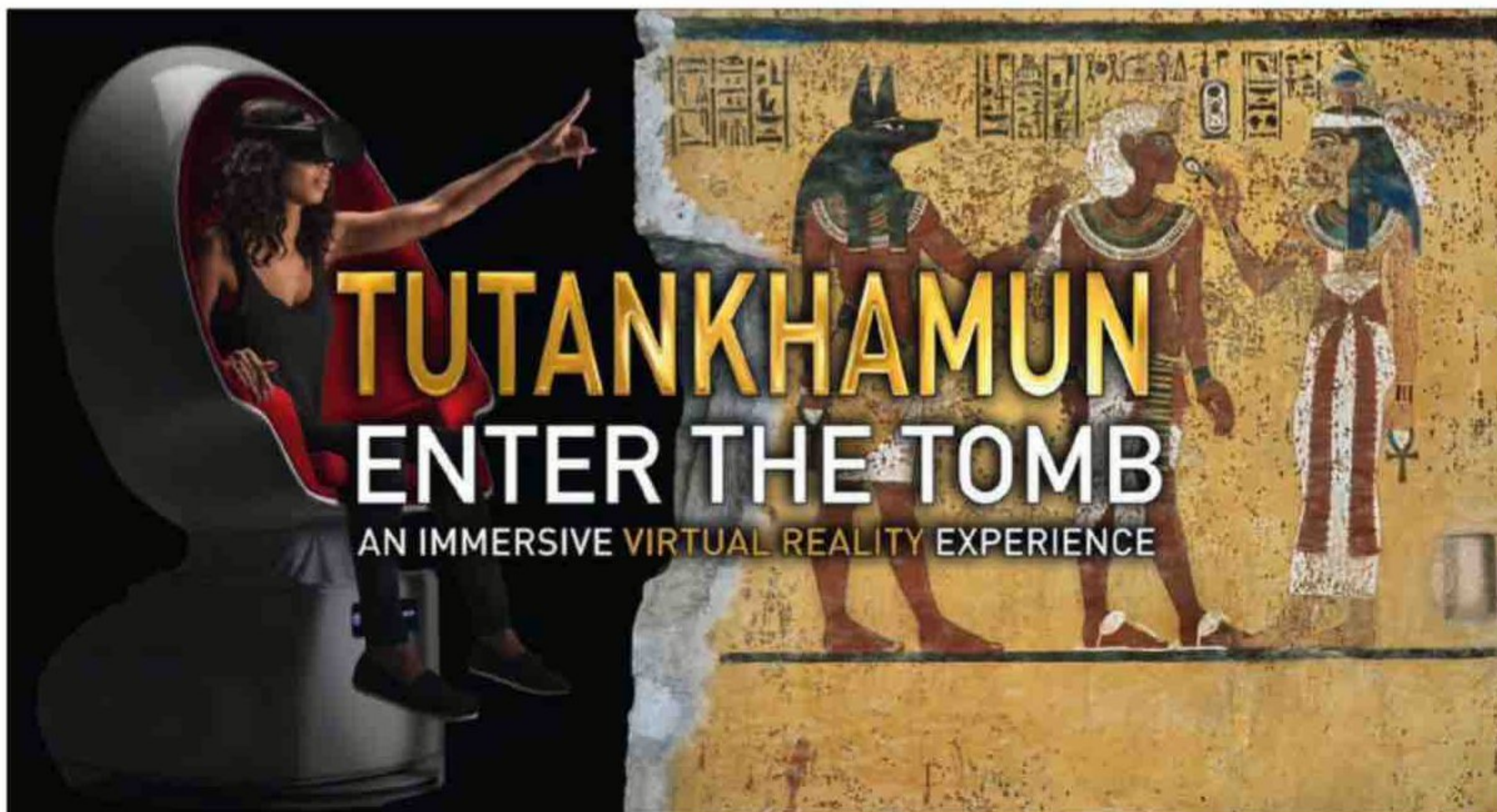
RIGHT: The finale of the exhibition: a colossal statue of Tutankhamun from his mortuary temple on the West Bank at Luxor. The statue was soon usurped, first by Ay, then by Horemheb.

BELOW: A small ivory *senet* game with pull-out drawer for storing the playing pieces.



Tutankhamun: Enter the Tomb

Joel Newton and **Chadwick Turner** describe how they developed the new virtual reality tour of KV62.



Tutankhamun: *Enter the Tomb* is a groundbreaking immersive cinematic experience that recreates the legendary pharaoh's tomb just as Howard Carter found it in 1922. Using a hyper-realistic technique called photogrammetry, the tomb is recreated exactly, from the detailed artifacts to the sounds one might have heard inside the tomb, transporting the audience from the theatre to the Valley of the Kings in Egypt.

The project began in 2017, when Elliott Mizroch and Andrew Hendricks, both part of Immersive Artists, were working in Egypt on a different project, and jumped at the opportunity to capture Tutankhamun's tomb. Using cutting-edge photogrammetry technology and their unique mix of post-production methods, they were able to photograph the space, and rebuild the tomb in its precise dimensions for cinematic level virtual reality (VR).

Recreating the Tomb Contents

Of the countless artifacts catalogued, one of the most memorable and intriguing was the iconic inner sarcophagus. Metallic objects are especially difficult for photogrammetry, so the solid gold base of the piece was going to be particularly tricky. However, after a few technical troubleshootings, they managed to capture it in all its intricate detail. Other notable objects captured were one of Tutankhamun's thrones, one of his golden chariots, and the food containers that first confronted Carter when he entered the Antechamber.

What may not be obvious to those who have never visited KV62 is that it presently sits empty (except for the mummy of Tutankhamun within a sarcophagus). Over the years, many of the objects have been acquired by different museums, including the Luxor Museum and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Therefore, to recreate what Howard Carter would have seen when entering the tomb for the first time, the team had to collect the objects from all over Egypt.

Earlier this year, immersive entertainment company CityLights picked up the project from Elliott and Andrew, aiming to produce a Hollywood-level cinematic film to bring the tomb to audiences around the world. The film is the directorial debut for Joel Newton, the co-founder of the Los Angeles based CityLights, who brought together an unprecedented team of experts to ensure an accurate and respectful recreation, while also crafting an entertaining story for the viewer.

Sound and Music

The 8-minute short is narrated by Downton Abbey's Hugh Bonneville, in a nod to the fictional role he played in the show that was produced at Highclere Castle, the real-life home of Lord Carnarvon, the financier of Carter's archaeological pursuits.

One subtle but incredibly interesting element is the musical composition by Thievery Corporation's Rob Garza. The soundtrack was created following an in-depth study of the sounds and instruments of ancient Egypt. There is no defin-



itive idea of how music from this period would have sounded, but the ancient Egyptians were known to have harps, lyres, drums, percussion and flutes. The scales they used were not the traditional western scales, so Garza worked to reflect that in the piece. He describes the process as an exercise in imagining something between the Near East and West, creating something that would bring the film to life for audiences from many different cultures.

Currently in London's Saatchi Gallery until May 2020 (an add-on to the Tutankhamun exhibition) viewers can experience a level of virtual reality previously unavailable to the public thanks not only to the film quality itself but also the state-of-the-art Positron Voyager chairs (see above). These are the first chairs



designed specifically for fully immersive cinematic VR, and completely transport the audience into a magical moment of discovery.

Joel Newton and Chadwick Turner

Joel Newton is the Director, and Chadwick Turner the Producer, of *Tutankhamun: Enter the Tomb*. Joel is also the co-founder of CityLights FYI.

All photos supplied by the authors.



TOP LEFT

AE Deputy Editor Sarah Griffiths, totally immersed in 'discovering' the Tomb of Tutankhamun.

TOP RIGHT

A screen-shot from the film showing the detailed recreation of Tutankhamun's golden inner sarcophagus.

ABOVE

The VR rendering of one of Tutankhamun's chariots that is reassembled in the film to show how it worked.

LEFT

The Antechamber just as Howard Carter would have found it complete with ceremonial beds, boxes, chairs and painted wooden food containers.

Highlights of the Manchester Museum 20:

An erased stela of Tutankhamun(?)

As part of this Tutankhamun-themed issue, Campbell Price describes an object in Manchester that *may* refer to the boy king.

This unobtrusive limestone stela (Acc. no. 2938 – *see opposite*) was found by Egyptian workmen employed by Blackburn-born Egyptologist John Garstang (1876-1956) at the sacred site of Abydos. Like many other monuments set up there over the centuries, it might be assumed simply to be a tribute to the local god, Osiris, but the iconography and composition of the scene is unusual. Although found broken, and with clear evidence of erasure to the identifying inscription, is one of the most intriguing – but little-known – pieces in Manchester's collection.

To begin with the lower register; this shows the expected figure of Osiris, seated at the right, with five figures approaching him – four of them uncaptioned and therefore unidentified. These consist of two women and two men, each of apparently elite status and in the pose of adoration – in keeping iconographically with depictions of kinship groups on many late New Kingdom stelae. However, the group is led by a royal male figure identified as 'Djeserkara' – the revered king Amenhotep I. This is unusual, as the overall iconography of the piece dates to very late Dynasty Eighteen – long after Amenhotep I had died. Usually, posthumous depictions of this deified king show him as passive and in receipt of offerings; it is also uncommon to find a king (let alone a deified king) leading – and in some sense in the same sphere – as a group of apparently non-royal people.

The upper register is even more intriguing. It shows three royal figures approaching Amun-Ra, who is captioned with his name and the epithet 'Lord of the Sky, Ruler of Thebes'. He is accompanied on this top register by the standing figures of (from left to right) the deified Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, the 'Lord of the Two Lands' Nebpehtyra (= Ahmose I), and an active (*i.e.* living/reigning) king, whose name has been erased. The stela thus shows no fewer than three historical royal figures – reflecting an awareness of history at Abydos that is echoed in

another Abydos monument (possibly a statue base) naming several kings, also in Manchester. In addition to being regarded as a founder of the New Kingdom, Ahmose I (*depicted in another object in the Manchester collection shown below*) is well-known as a builder at Abydos – while Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmose-Nefetari were venerated at the Theban workers' town of Deir el-Medina.

The style of the figures, and the offering pharaoh in particular, have a distinctly Amarna feel – but given the scene shows the worship of Amun, it can hardly show Akhenaten or his immediate successor(s). Tutankhamun is a strong possibility, perhaps a way of reasserting the dominance of Amun even at Abydos and reconnecting with the orthodoxy symbolised by older rulers. Certainly, Tutankhamun's name was erased after his death because of his association with the Amarna interlude. His short-lived successor Ay may also be considered for the same reason. Horemheb and Ramesses I are also a less-likely possibility, as it is not clear why their names would have been subsequently removed.

It is perhaps ironic that the pharaoh who commissioned

the stela to show his connection with great kings of the past should have been so conspicuously forgotten.

The stela will appear with several other objects from Manchester Museum in the exhibition *Tutankhamon. À la découverte du pharaon oublié*, in Liège, Belgium between December 2019 and July 2020.

Campbell Price

Campbell is Curator of Egypt and Sudan at The Manchester Museum (the University of Manchester) and a regular contributor to *AE* magazine.

Photo opposite: Julia Thorne (@Tetisheri)

The exhibition *Tutankhamun: Treasures of the Golden Pharaoh* is currently running at the Saatchi Gallery, London, until 3rd May 2020 (see page 20).



Ahmose I embraces Osiris in another relief in the Manchester collection. Photo: RBP



A LOAD OF OLD BULL: THE SERAPEUM OF SAQQARA

PART 1 –THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES

Aidan Dodson explores the first phases of the history of one ancient Egypt's most iconic monuments.



ABOVE: Comparison of depictions of the Apis in the late Eighteenth, Twenty-second and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.
Image: Auguste Mariette/Aidan Dodson

The living Apis bull was an earthly incarnation of the god Ptah, referred to as his 'Herald' and, as such, had a stall in the god's temple at Memphis. When a bull died, a new animal was chosen by the god, and could be identified by having the same markings as its predecessor. Accordingly, priests would be sent around Egypt after the previous bull's demise, to find a calf born with the appropriate markings. However, the various depictions of the bull over the centuries (*see above*) suggest that the exact markings 'evolved' over time. When the Greek historian Herodotus stated that the Apis was "*black, with a white diamond on its forehead [and] the image of an eagle on its back, and a beetle on its tongue*" this description merely reflected the ideal at the time of his visit to Egypt during the fifth century BC.

The bull is attested at least as far back as the beginning of the First Dynasty, but nothing is known as to its posthumous fate until the reign of Amenhotep III. At this time, the first known tomb of an Apis was constructed by the

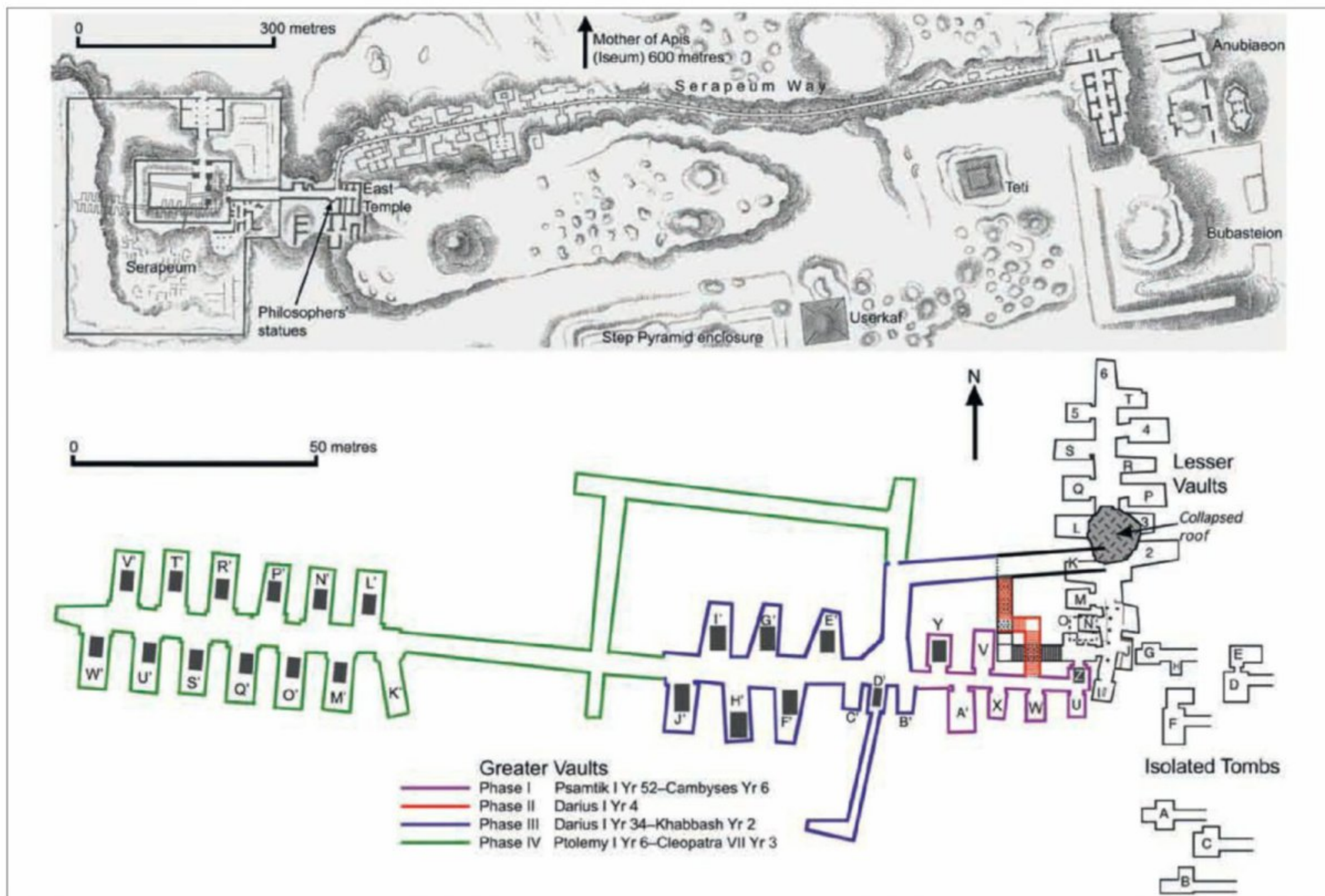
high priest of Ptah Prince Thutmose, the heir to the throne, (*see opposite, bottom right*) in an area at the western extremity of the Saqqara necropolis. Why this change occurred is unknown, but it may have been a manifestation of the innovative theological atmosphere of the time – which would culminate in the religious revolution of Thutmose's younger brother, Akhenaten, when he came to the throne as a result of his elder sibling's premature death.

Selecting the Site

The site chosen for the new cemetery lay on the margin of the main access route into the Saqqara necropolis from the north (*see below, left*). This is due-west of the Sixth Dynasty Pyramid of Tety, its causeway one of the few direct ways of accessing the plateau from the east. Here, near a clutch of private tombs, a small chapel was built, adorned with reliefs of Prince Thutmose and his father offering to the deceased bull. It was placed above a simple burial chamber (Tomb A – *see plan opposite top*), in which were placed a wooden sarcophagus accompanied by four large canopic jars, four protective magic bricks and various stone and pottery vessels. The sarcophagus however contained not a proper mummified bull, but a rectangular mass, made up of a mixture of broken bull-bones, linen and resin. Some later interments also contained jars full of ashes, and the conclusion would seem to be that the dead bull had been cooked, and at least partly eaten, before being prepared for burial. Such a notion brings to



LEFT: The area of the Serapeum today, largely engulfed in sand. The ancient ground surface is marked by the stairs descending to the modern concrete shelter, covering the remains of Ptolemaic statues of Greek philosophers. This marked the point from which the Serapeum's approach-way (*dromos*) ran west towards the temple that covered the subterranean catacomb, whose entrance is visible centre-left.
Photo: Aidan Dodson

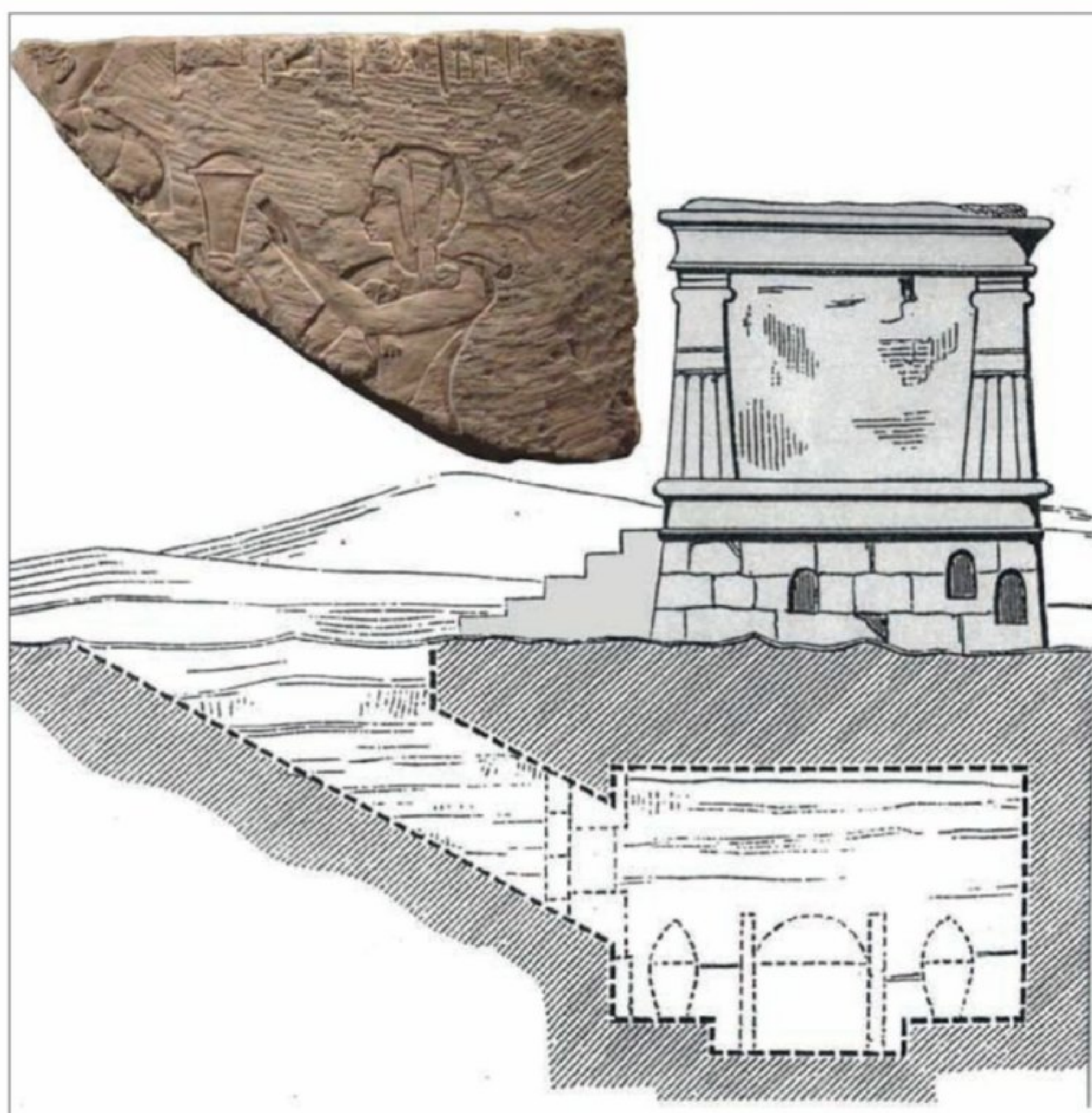


ABOVE: A map of the location of the Serapeum at Saqqara and plan of its subterranean galleries.
Image: Auguste Mariette/Aidan Dodson

mind the ‘Cannibal Hymn’ from the Pyramid Texts that speaks of the dead king killing and eating the gods to take on their powers. In any case, this kind of treatment of the bull would continue at least until the middle of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

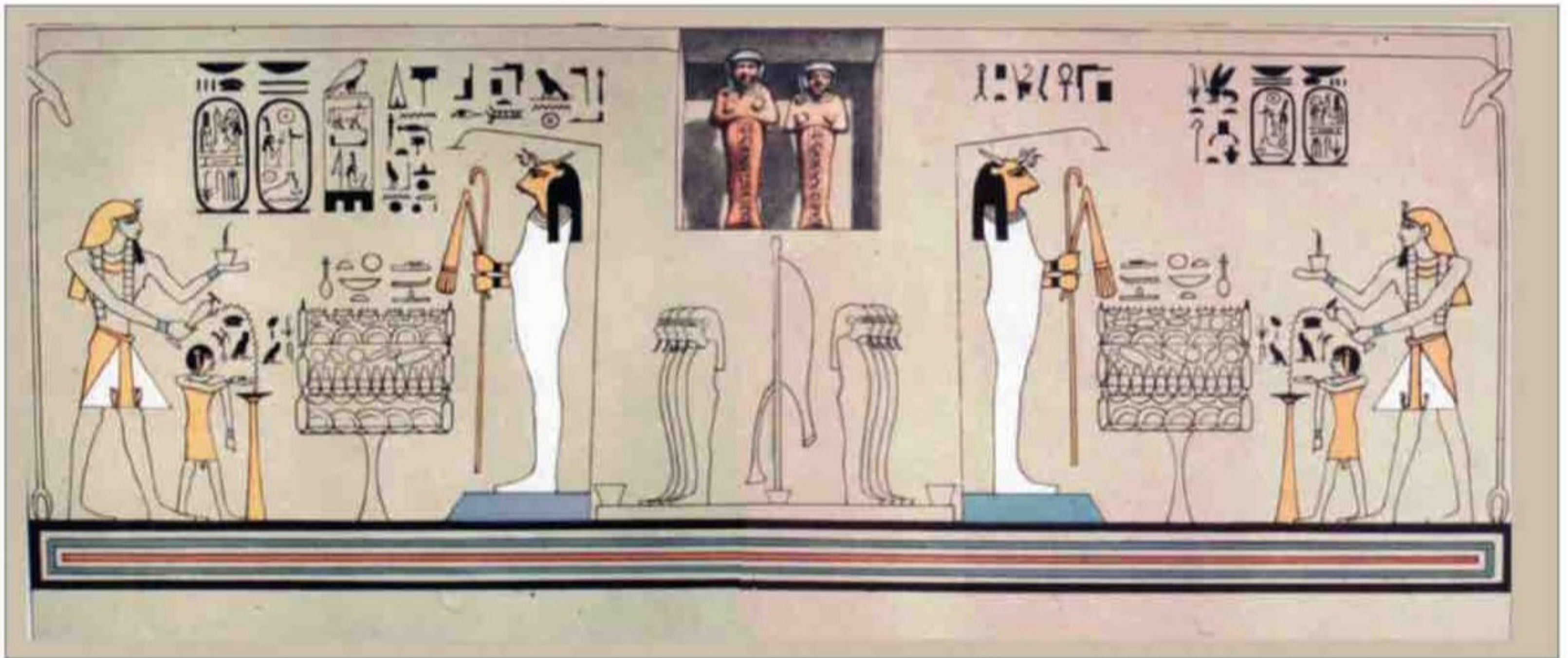
Ramesside Burials

A series of similar tombs would be constructed for bulls into the reign of Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213). Although the earliest burial chambers were not decorated, the first of two bulls buried under Horemheb had the walls of its chamber adorned (*see page 43, top*). Decoration was also applied to a wall of



RIGHT: Section of one of the Isolated Tombs, showing the chapel, the underground burial chamber with its wooden sarcophagus and canopic jars and the one known fragment of the decoration of the chapel of the first known bull burial. This shows the prince-high priest Thutmose, elder brother of Akhenaten, standing behind his father Amenhotep III while making offerings to the Apis (Munich, State Museum of Egyptian Art).

Image: Auguste Mariette/Aidan Dodson

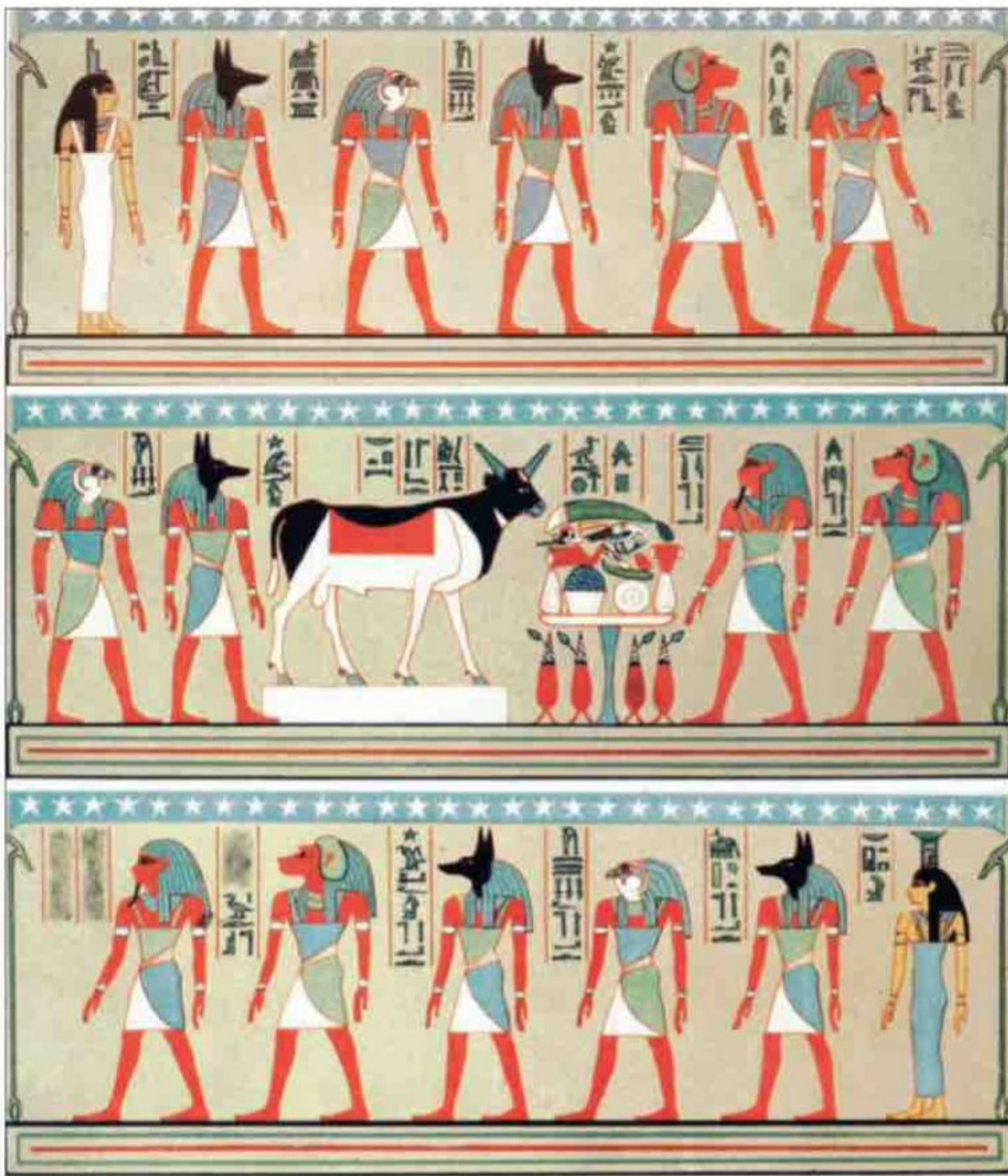


ABOVE: The decorated wall of Isolated Tomb-chamber G, showing Rameses II and Khaemwaset offering to the Apis. The *shabtis* shown are now in the Louvre.
Image: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857)

BELOW LEFT: The wall-decoration of the burial chamber (D) of the first Apis buried during the reign of Horemheb.
Image: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857)

BELOW, RIGHT: One of the canopic jars from the first known bull burial, carried out by Thutmose, elder brother of Akhenaten (Louvre Museum).
Photo: Aidan Dodson

the chamber (Tomb G – *see above*) in which the first two of a series of bulls interred under Ramesses II were laid to rest. These burials were carried out under the auspices of another prince-high priest, the famous Khaemwaset, for a while Ramesses II's heir, but who, like Thutmose, was denied the throne by premature death.





TOP LEFT: An Apis-*shabti* of the reign of Rameses II (Louvre Museum).
Photo: Aidan Dodson

TOP RIGHT: Jewellery found in the burial of the Apis in Chamber G; the heart-scarab was dedicated by the vizier Paser (Louvre Museum).
Image: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857)

BELOW: A general view of the pillared vestibule of the Lesser Vaults, looking north. Many of the walls have hieratic graffiti. The blocks at the end close off the area where the roof has collapsed.
Photo: Aidan Dodson

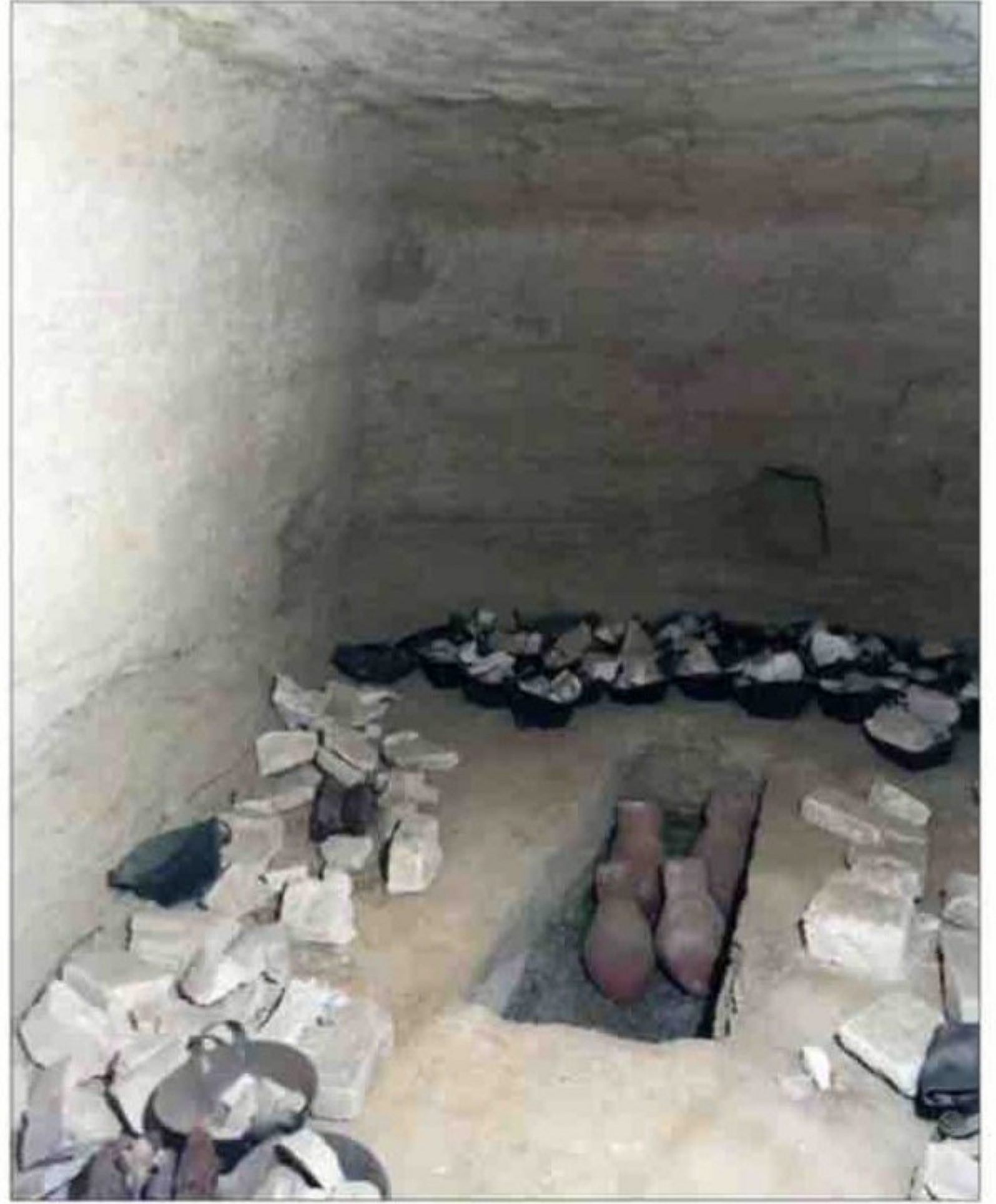
This tomb was, however, the last of the 'Isolated Tombs' to be prepared for an individual bull. For the next bull to die, Khaemwaset constructed the first phase of what would become the catacomb, known to posterity as the Serapeum. The core of what is now dubbed the 'Lesser Vaults' comprised a columned vestibule (*see right*), accessed *via* a series of stairways beginning some way to the north of the Isolated Tombs, but actually lying directly west of Tomb G, and separated from it only by a thin layer of rock. At the southern end of the vestibule, Chamber I was employed for the next bull to be buried with a cutting in the floor containing its ash-jars (*see overleaf, top right*).





ABOVE: The entrance to the Lesser Vaults. Photo: David Rohl

BELOW: The Apis Embalming House at Memphis, showing the great slab upon which the bull was mummified.
Photo Salima Ikram



ABOVE: Chamber I, showing the pit in the floor, holding jars of ashes. The baskets surrounding it come from the excavations of the late 1980s, their contents including a bull vertebra - possibly the only currently-known definite fragment of an Apis bull. Photo: Aidan Dodson





TOP: Jewellery from the Apis 'mummy' of Year 55 of Ramesses II.

Image: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857)

LEFT: The human face-mask of the Apis buried in Year 55. (Louvre Museum). Photo: Aidan Dodson

BOTTOM LEFT: An ink-sketch of a high priest of Ptah offering to the Apis; his name is lost but the drawing certainly dates to Rameside times. It was later hidden behind one of the walls erected in the vestibule during the Third Intermediate Period. Photo: Aidan Dodson

ABOVE and BELOW: Blocks in the Lesser Vaults showing Prince Khaemwaset. Photo: Aidan Dodson





ABOVE LEFT: A stela dedicated by the Great Chief of the Ma Padieset at the interment of the bull buried in Year 28 of Sheshonq III. Behind him are his son, the high priest of Ptah Peftjauwybast, and the sem-priest of Ptah Takelot (Louvre Museum).
Photo Aidan Dodson

ABOVE RIGHT: A stela dedicated by Horudja at the interment of the bull buried in Year 37 of Shoshenq V (Louvre Museum).
Image: Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857)

BELOW: Niches for votive stelae at the stairway leading down to the entrances to the Lesser Vaults and the first phases of the Greater Vaults. Photo Aidan Dodson

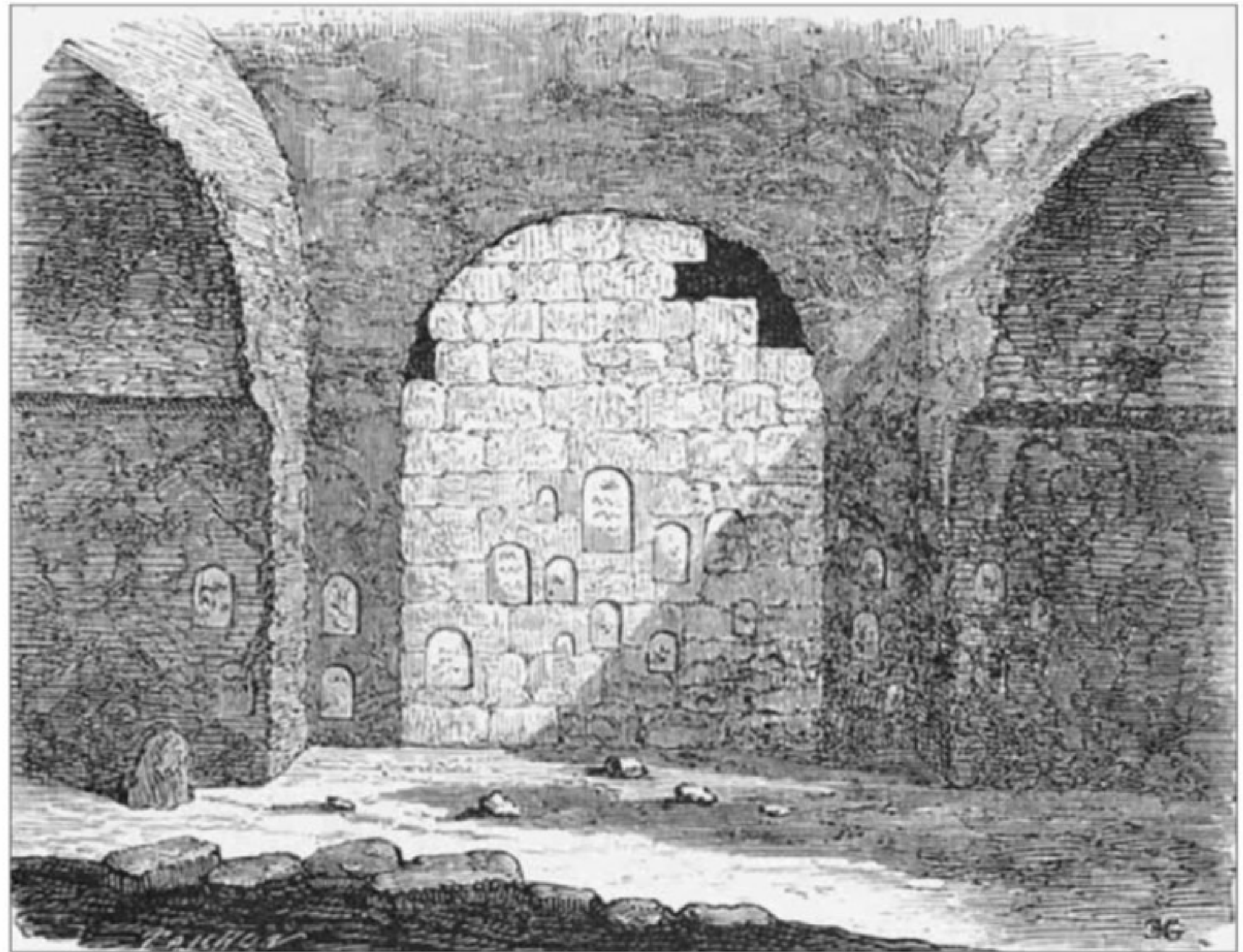


Later modifications to the vestibule make it difficult to be certain as to whether any of the rooms cut in its east and west walls date to the time of Ramesses II. However, by the 50s of his reign, an extension was being cut northwards, which would form the basis for the future development of the Lesser Vaults over the next six centuries. At the beginning of this extension, in Chamber K, a bull was buried in Year 55 (c. 1224 BC). The ceiling of the gallery directly beyond this chamber later collapsed, and as a result the burial remained intact until Auguste Mariette excavated the complex in the 1850s. Like earlier bulls, the animal had been reduced to bony fragments, but in this case the remains had been fashioned into the simulacrum of a human mummy, bedecked with jewellery and with a gold mask on its face (*see page 35*). This ‘mummy’ has on occasion been mis-identified in print as the burial of Khaemwaset himself. It is possible that another burial of the same kind was seen by Paul Lucas [French antiquities hunter and emissary of Louis XIV] in the eighteenth century, during which a number of Apis-canopics were removed, some now being in Marseilles.

Although Mariette assigned various bull-burials to chambers around the vestibule of the Lesser Vaults and the first part of the northern extension (with most stated to have held more than one bull), the basis for doing so is generally obscure, with the exception of inscribed material of Siptah, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX (the latter found in Chamber M). He also assigned multiple bulls to some chambers, but it is unclear whether this was the result of a count of actual surviving remains, or was inferred from (unpublished) inscribed material, or guesswork. Also, some parts of the structure were not cleared at all.

Late Period Burials

Indeed, even Mariette makes no assignments of bulls to the reigns between the end of the New Kingdom and that of



TOP: The sealed doorway of Chamber T, the last one in the Lesser Vaults to be used for burials, showing the stelae and the break-through by robbers.
Drawing: Auguste Mariette

RIGHT: The official stela marking the burial of the Apis of Year 20 of Psamtek I (Louvre Museum). Photo: Aidan Dodson



Sheshonq III of the Twenty-second Dynasty (c. 825-773 BC). On the other hand, a new embalming house for the Apis was built at Memphis during the reign of Sheshonq I, which remained in use at least until Persian times. Also, a stela survives from the reign of Sheshonq III's predecessor, Osorkon II; this marks the beginning of a largely unbroken series of stelae that tell the story of Apis burials down to Ptolemaic times. Even then, only a few can be archaeologically linked with specific chambers; part of the problem derives from the ransacking of the Lesser Vaults in antiquity, which led to a displacement of material. In addition, until the Twenty-sixth Dynasty all such stelae were votive examples left by private individuals, rather than the 'official' ones intended to be embedded in the blocking of bulls' burial chambers. Although some were placed close to the burial places of the bulls to which they were dedicated, most such stelae were placed in niches in the open approach to the complex (*page 36, bottom*), or the columned outer vestibule. This would

also be the case in the later Greater Vaults. Depictions of the dead bull on these stelae suggest that by now 'proper' mummification had replaced the previous approach – certainly since the building of the Apis embalming house under Sheshonq I.

Of bulls that can be localised, two, from Year 28 of Sheshonq III and Year 2 of Pimay, were probably buried in Chamber P (as stelae relating to them were found in the debris of the collapsed roof nearby). Chamber R or S (there is confusion in Mariette's records on this) contained a graffito of Year 6 of Bakenrenef (Bocchoris), indicating that it must have been the burial place of the bull known to have died during his reign, apparently alongside the bull that had died earlier in Year 37 of Sheshonq V. Chamber T, the last room in the Lesser Vaults to be used, held the bulls dying in Year 24 of Taharqo (c. 676 BC) and Year 21 of Psamtek I (c. 643 BC). In between, bulls seem to have been interred in Year 4 of Shabaqo and Year 14 of Taharqo, but the documentation of these burials is minimal; a cartouche of Shabitoqo and a Year 2 date of Shabaqo are also of uncertain import.

On the other hand, there is no question that the Year 21 burial of the Apis, who died late in Year 20 of Psamtek I (c. 644 BC – *see stela left*), marked the final interment in the Lesser Vaults. Although the main passageway continued north for a short distance ('Chamber 6'), for the next bull to die, a completely new complex was initiated, accessed through a doorway outside the main entrance to the Lesser Vaults, to the right. This was the beginning of the Greater Vaults, which will be the subject of the next part of this article in AE 118.

Aidan Dodson

Aidan is Honorary Professor of Egyptology at the University of Bristol, where he has taught since 1996. Awarded his Ph.D. by the University of Cambridge in 1995, he was Simpson Professor of Egyptology at the American University in Cairo for the Spring of 2013, Chair of Trustees of the Egypt Exploration Society from 2011 to 2016, and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 2003. He is the author of 24 books, most recently *Rameses III, King of Egypt: His Life and Afterlife* (American University in Cairo Press, October 2019).

ABOVE

A stela found close to Chamber T, dedicated by the Doorkeeper of the Temple of Ptah, Horudja, at the Apis-burial of Year 21 of Psamtek I (Louvre Museum).
Photo: Aidan Dodson

Coming in Future Issues of ANCIENT EGYPT

More from Gebel el-Silsila

Maria Nilsson and **John Ward** return with their exploration of the site during the Ramesside era.

The Birds of Gebel el-Silsila

John Wyatt and **Maria Nilsson** reveal the findings of their latest research into 'new ancient' species of birds at Gebel el-Silsila.

Deir el-Bahri Warriors

The tomb of the soldiers at Deir el-Bahri is the subject of new research. **Julian Heath** reveals the latest findings.

The Saqqara Serapeum – Part 2

Aidan Dodson treats us to more unique photographs from the tomb of the bulls in the second part of his article.

All in the Ancient Mind

US surgeon **Ira Rampil** investigates ancient Egyptian perceptions of the brain.

Herodotus in Egypt

Kevin Harrison investigates Herodotus' travels in Egypt and assesses the value of his writings to modern historians.

'Beautiful?' Bes

Branko F. van Oppen de Ruiter shares his admiration for "Lovely Ugly Bes".

The Pharaohs of Dynasty Twelve

Sarah Griffiths continues her occasional series highlighting the tumultuous reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty kings.

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THE CITY OF NAUKRATIS: 'THE SHANGHAI OF ANCIENT EGYPT'

Roger Forshaw explores an important Greek trading settlement and trading post in Egypt which has parallels in nineteenth century China.



ABOVE: A view over the site of Naukratis today. Much of the former settlement is now a huge man-made lake as a result of the excavations of Petrie, Hogarth and Gardner, as well as from the actions of the *sebbakhin*.

Photo: Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society

Early relations between the Egyptians and the Greek peoples can be traced back to the time of the Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations. During the reign of Amenhotep III (c. 1386-1353 BC), Ionians are for the first time depicted among the subject states of Egypt. Following a hiatus around 1200 BC, due to disturbances in the eastern Mediterranean associated with the 'Sea Peoples', significant contacts again developed with the Greek world in the seventh century BC.

In 664 BC, Psamtek I (*opposite, top*), at the time a local Delta ruler, began to reunite a politically divided Egypt after almost four hundred years of division and intermittent foreign occupation. To do so, Psamtek would have needed to build up his military forces and increase the financial resources of the country, the latter being achieved mainly through improved trading relations. Psamtek and the subsequent Saite rulers looked to the Mediterranean and particularly the burgeoning Greek world in the pursuit of such commercial activities.

Greek goods began to appear in Egypt, and Egyptian goods in the Greek world. Greek culture incorporated

Egyptian traits, based on first-hand knowledge of Egyptian monuments and ideas. Egyptian kings of the Saite Dynasty began to employ Greek mercenaries in their armies, and it was the city of Naukratis that became a pivotal point in this cross-cultural contact between the two civilisations.

The city of Naukratis, with its sister port of Thonis/Herakleion, stood unique among the cities of ancient Egypt. Together they functioned as a port-of-trade, and one of the major interfaces with the Mediterranean. At Naukratis the Greeks were given permission to settle permanently and build temples to their gods, and at the outset it was the only 'Greek' city in Egypt. Every type of trade good passed through Naukratis and for a time at least, it was the Egyptian hub in a network of trade routes that linked the Mediterranean with the Greek world, the Phoenician coast, Cyprus, North Africa, Sardinia, Etruria and Spain. Naukratis was frequented by traders from many Greek cities and became celebrated not only for the diversity of its trade goods but also for its elaborate *symposia* (dining parties) and beautiful *hetairai* (courtesans).

The Shanghai of Ancient Egypt

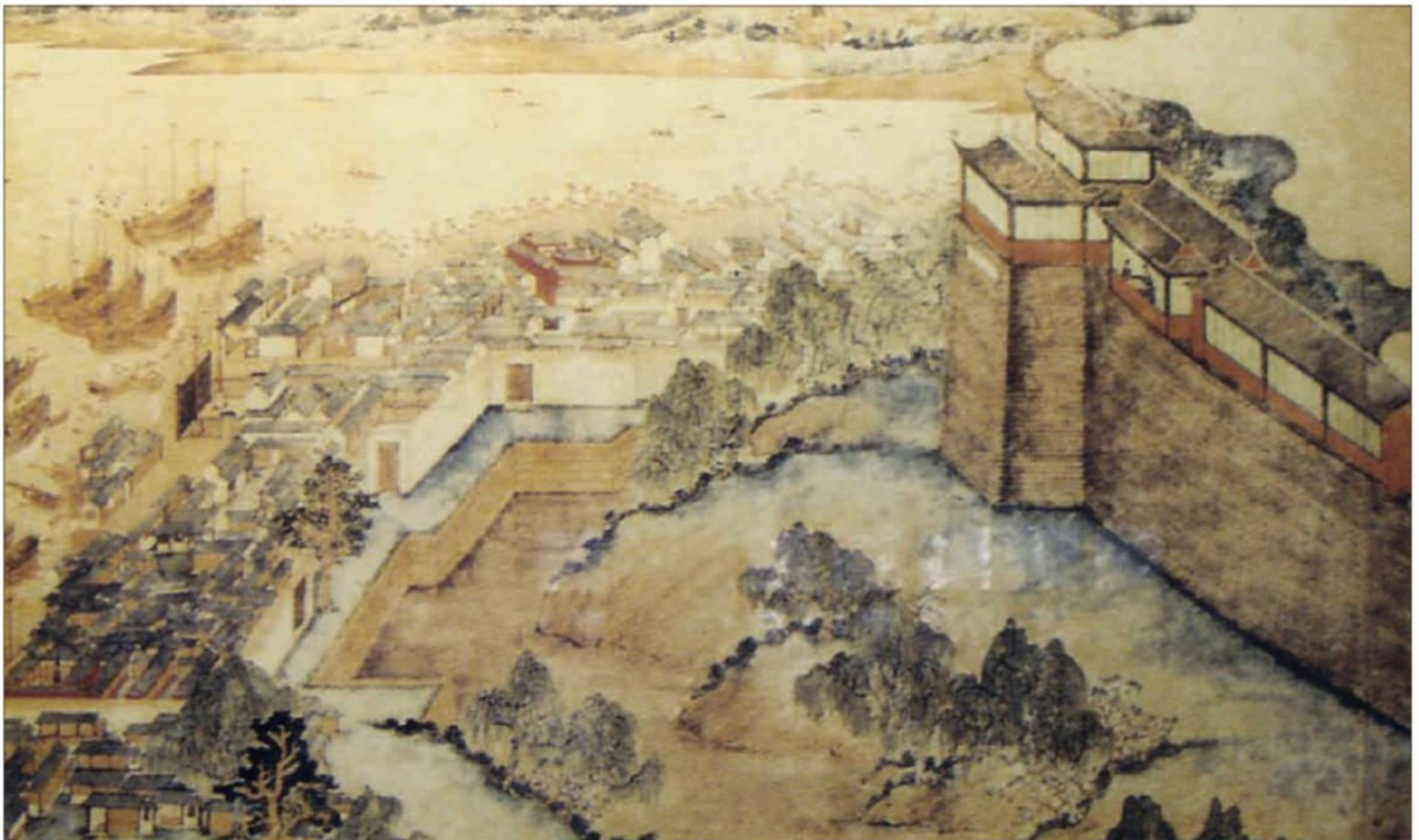
Looking back to the history of China and Great Britain in the nineteenth century, there is an analogy between Naukratis and Shanghai in China (*see below*). Following the Opium War in 1842 between England and the Qing Dynasty of China and the subsequent signing of the Nanking treaty, various foreign concessions were established in the city of Shanghai. Concessions were granted to the British, and then later to the French, Americans, and other nations, all of whom began to develop commercial interests in Shanghai. The Old City of Shanghai remained under Chinese control, while the foreign concessions to its north and west quickly developed into new urban areas, and remained so until the Second World War.

Shanghai, similar to Naukratis, was never a colony, nor was it owned by foreign powers. Naukratis became an established Greek community and owed its existence to the continued favour and interest of the Egyptian pharaoh and the Greek states trading there, hence the similarity between these two unique cities separated by major cultural differences and a time span of over two millennia.

RIGHT: Psamtek I, founder of the Twenty-sixth 'Saite' Dynasty. Under the Saite kings, Naukratis became an important trading port.
Photo: Aidan Dodson



BELOW: A seventeenth century painting showing the city wall of the Old City of Shanghai and the river port outside the wall. Naukratis has been likened to Shanghai in that both cities had a multi-ethnic population, with special concessions given to foreigners to settle and trade within the cities, while remaining under the control of their respective ruling élite.
Photo: Public Domain via Wikicommons





Early Naukratis

Naukratis was probably the site of an Egyptian town before the Greeks arrived, later becoming established as a military settlement occupied by mercenaries engaged by Psamtek I. These soldiers of fortune were rewarded for their service by being allocated land-holdings. Naukratis as a military base with its access to the Mediterranean would have had an important strategic role, with naval ships and the large sea-faring vessels of the day being able to berth there.

Naukratis was located on the Canopic branch of the Nile in the western Delta some 16 km from Sais (*see above*). The Canopic tributary was, at that time, one

of the major waterways linking the Nile valley with the Mediterranean, and the most accessible of the Nile's tributaries during the Saite Period. The early settlement gradually developed into a busy trading port, exchanging goods with the Greek world and with other Mediterranean states. Greeks traders settled in Naukratis and a large Greek community began to develop. Trade would also have benefitted by the closeness of the important salt and natron resources at Barnugi and Wadi Natron, as well as the surrounding rich Delta hinterland which enabled plentiful supplies of grain to be cultivated for export.

Rediscovery of Naukratis

Naukratis remained an important trading centre for centuries but with its demise during the Byzantine Period, knowledge of its precise location was lost. Accounts of the city do exist in classical writings such as those of Herodotus, Strabo and Athenaeus. Herodotus, in particular, described it as a busy, thriving trading port set up by a number of Greek cities. Looking at the remains of the site now this is hard to imagine, with no visible signs of ancient ruins in what is now a remote, rural setting. (*see page 40*). It is located near the modern villages of Kom Ge'if, Nebira and El-Neqrash, and due to the silting up of the Canopic branch of the Nile which occurred over many centuries, it now has no link to the river Nile.

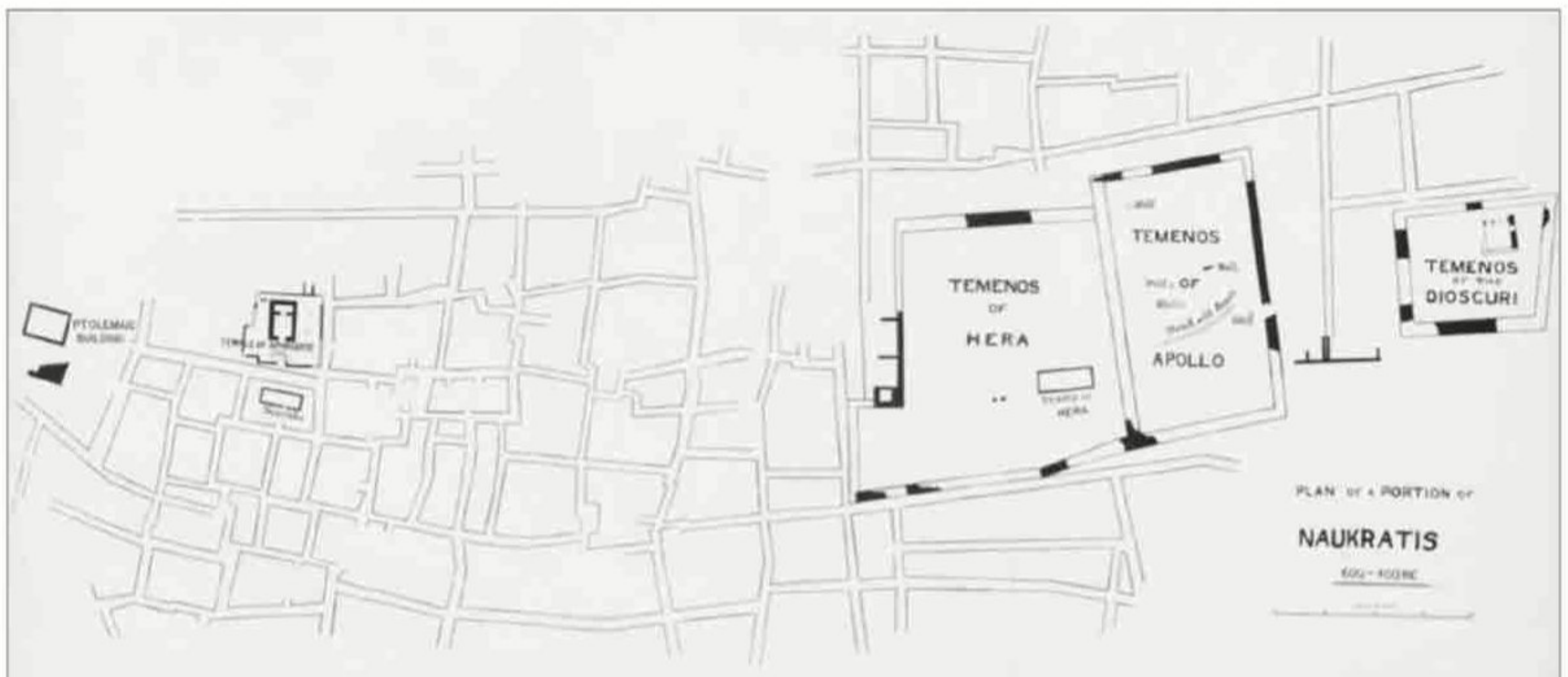
It was a young Flinders Petrie (*see opposite, top*) who rediscovered Naukratis in 1883, by tracing Archaic Greek antiquities being sold on the market back to

ABOVE

A map of the Delta during the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods showing the position of Naukratis, to the west of Sais.
Map: Peter Robinson

BELOW

A plan of the layout of central Naukratis showing the relative positions of the main Greek temples.
From: Gardner, 1988.
Naukratis Part II





their source. He found that the *sebbakhin* [local farmers] had dug down ancient ruins for phosphate-rich decayed mud-brick (*sebbakh*) to spread on their fields as fertilizer, quarrying away the later occupation levels at the site and so exposing earlier Archaic Greek remains. From this he deduced that the area was the site of the ancient city of Naukratis.

During his excavations, Petrie recorded in his journal that one of his greatest obstacles was constant competition with the *sebbakhin*. Eventually he decided that he could not prevent them from working, so it was better to enlist them as helpers rather than to compete with them. He encouraged them to bring him any archaeological discoveries they made, and then paid them the market value, an approach adopted by later expeditions to Egypt.

Petrie excavated Naukratis in the winter of 1884-85 with the help of F. Ll. Griffith, and again in the winter of 1885-86 with Griffith and E. A. Gardner. Further excavations were undertaken in 1899 by David Hogarth under the auspices of the British School in Athens. Petrie's research and fieldwork uncovered large numbers of archaeological objects and revealed a wealth of information that even to this day forms the basis for our knowledge about Naukratis. Petrie was one of the early pioneers of the stratigraphical excavation technique – extracting different sequences, observing layers and recording depths. Petrie would consider a shard of pottery an important find, and from such discoveries would attempt

a classification of all the pottery, painted or not.

Some 17,000 finds were recorded from these expeditions, with nearly half of them now in the British Museum, and the others located in over seventy museums worldwide. The spectrum of finds preserved from the excavations of Petrie, Gardner and Hogarth, is much skewed as a result of the find strategies of these early excavators. Certain categories of finds, such as anything bearing an inscription, were rated as more important than others. Plain or simply-decorated vessels account for no more than 12% of known finds. So the fact that nearly 90% carry inscriptions makes it clear that only 'special' pieces were kept while regular, uninscribed plain wares, although undoubtedly common, were routinely discarded. This is an important consideration when attempting an overall interpretation of this material.

More recently the British Museum Naukratis Research Project has aimed to realise the potential of this nineteenth century archaeological assemblage through a thorough and interdisciplinary re-investigation of the site. For the first time, the entirety of finds from Naukratis is accessible to scholars, as well as anyone with an interest in the ancient world and its cultures. Extensive online resources are freely available at the British Museum's website, which integrates old research with the new fieldwork being undertaken at Naukratis, including the results of the latest 2019 fieldwork.

ABOVE:

A young Flinders Petrie in 1880 shown in front of an old rock-cut tomb he used as his residence and base of operations while excavating at Giza.

Photo: Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society

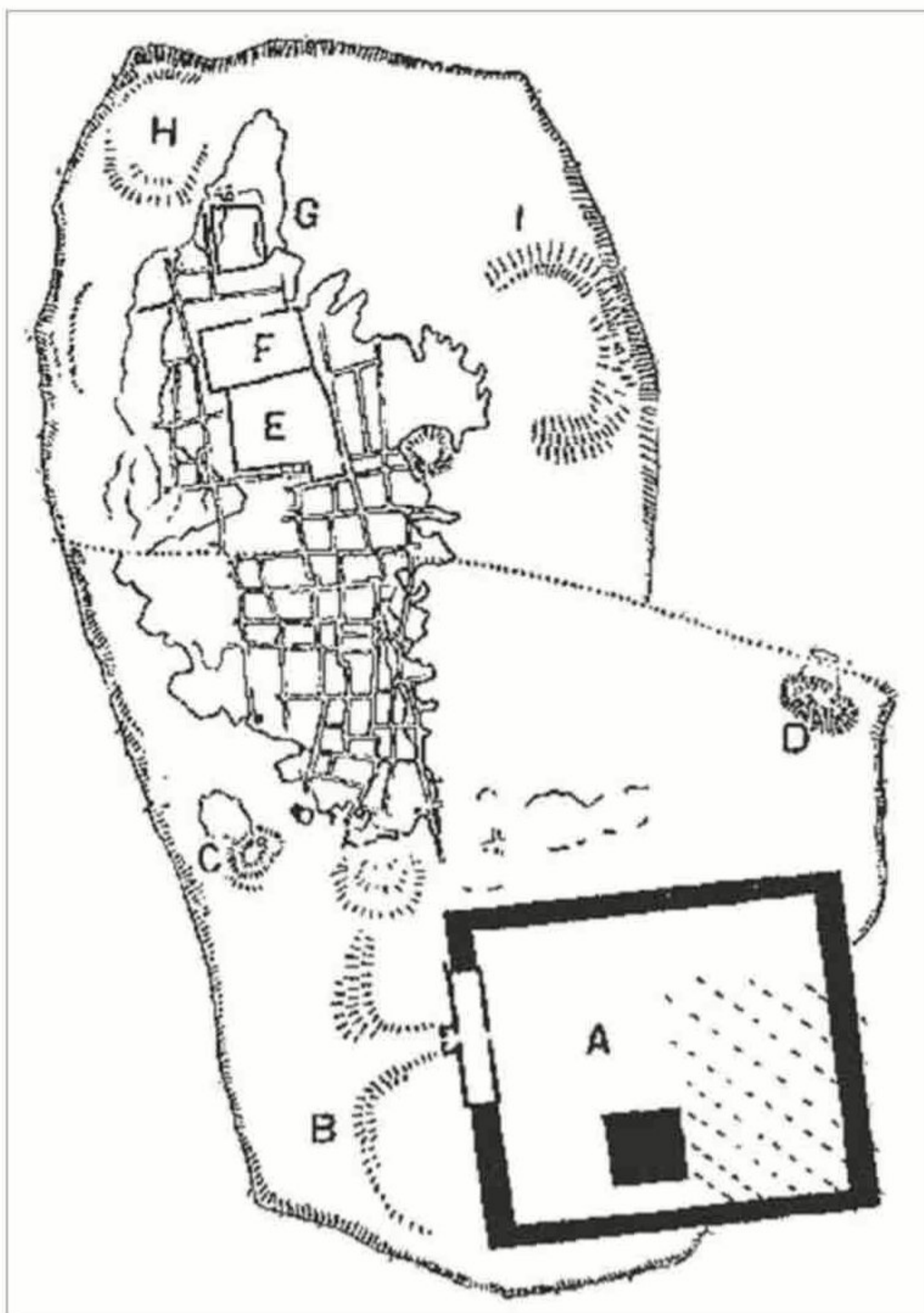


The Site of Naukratis

The results of such research suggest that in antiquity, Naukratis must have been a substantial settlement, covering over sixty hectares at its peak and providing living space for some 13,000 ethnically-diverse people. In addition to Greeks and Egyptians, there would have been Phoenicians, Cypriots, Persians and other groups of peoples at different points in time. The dominant feature of the whole town was the large Egyptian temple complex in the southern part of the site (*marked A on Petrie's plan, bottom left*), which was connected to the harbour by a processional way. Today called the 'Great Temenos', the sanctuary was dedicated to Amun-Ra Baded and other associated Egyptian deities. The temple complex would also have fulfilled a range of economic and administrative functions for the town and port.

During Petrie's first season at Naukratis he uncovered six foundation deposits beneath the groundwork of the gateway of the Great Temenos (*see above left*). Although foundation deposits are today well-known and frequently studied ritual finds, this was not the case in 1885. It was some time before it was realised that the function of a foundation ceremony was to allow the delimitation and purification of the site of the new construction and to establish its sacredness. Among the deposits were three lapis lazuli plaques, carved in the shape of a cartouche and bearing the inscription of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (c. 285–246 BC). Such discoveries are useful for dating temples, particularly in examples such as the Great Temenos, where little was left of the pylon except for its foundations.

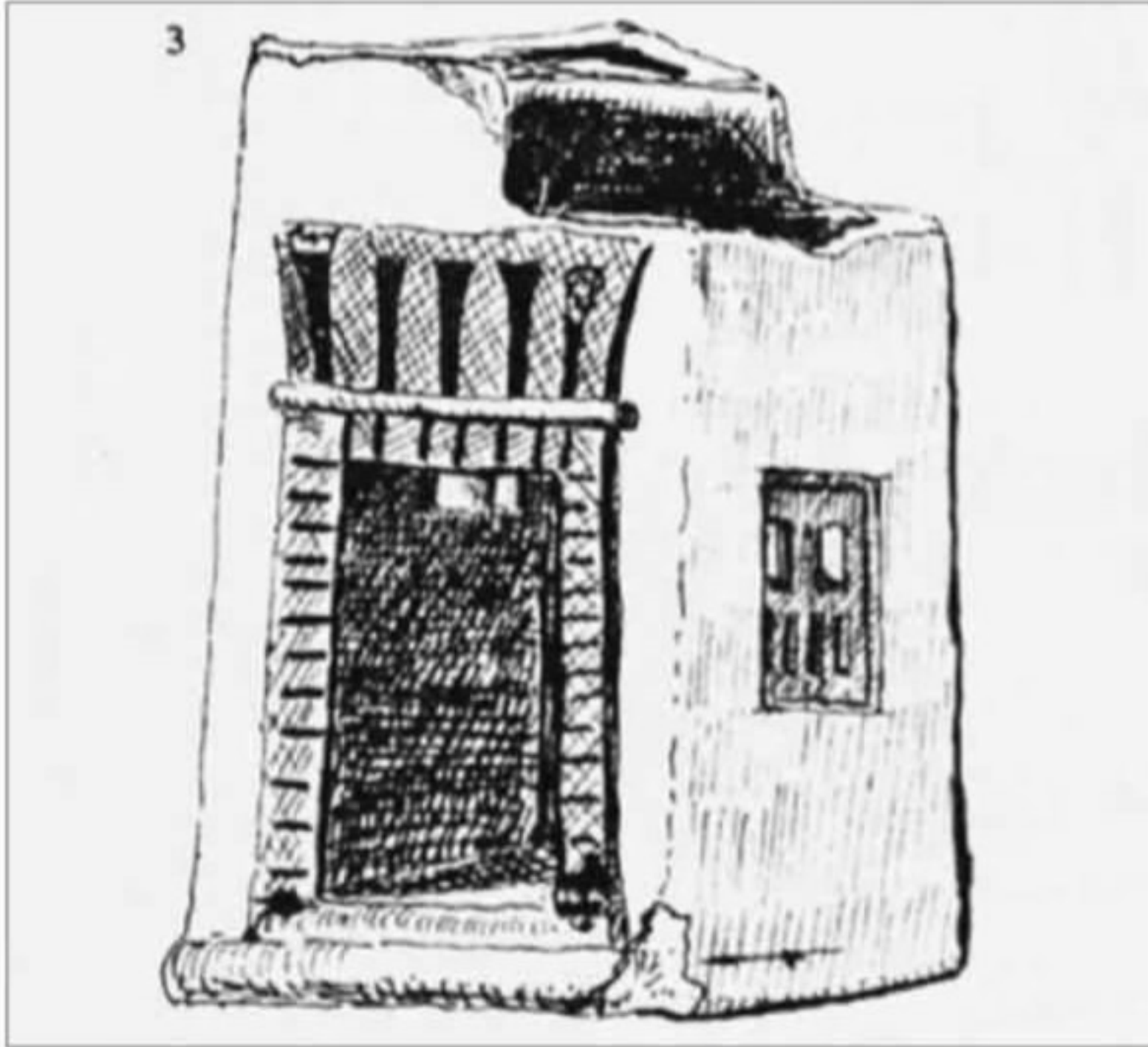
The Greeks were allowed to build temples in Naukratis and a number of



TOP LEFT: A foundation deposit discovered by Flinders Petrie in 1885 beneath the pylon of the temple of Amun-Ra Baded. The temple was built by Ptolemy II. This is one of six such deposits found at the site and were the first to be scientifically excavated in Egypt and recognized for what they were. See: www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Foundation_deposits.pdf

Photo: Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL. PMAN 2679

LEFT: A plan drawing of Naukratis by Flinders Petrie, showing the Great Temenos to the south (A)
Drawing: From Flinders Petrie, 1884–5. *Naukratis I*



ABOVE LEFT: Petrie's drawing of a model tower house, resembling the tall houses found at Naukratis.
From: Flinders Petrie, 1884-5, *Naukratis* / PL XVIII



ABOVE RIGHT: A pottery plate decorated with a seated sphinx found in the temple of Aphrodite at Naukratis, Sixth century BC.
Diameter 36.6 cm. Probably manufactured in East Greece. Photo: Courtesy of the British Museum via Wikicommons

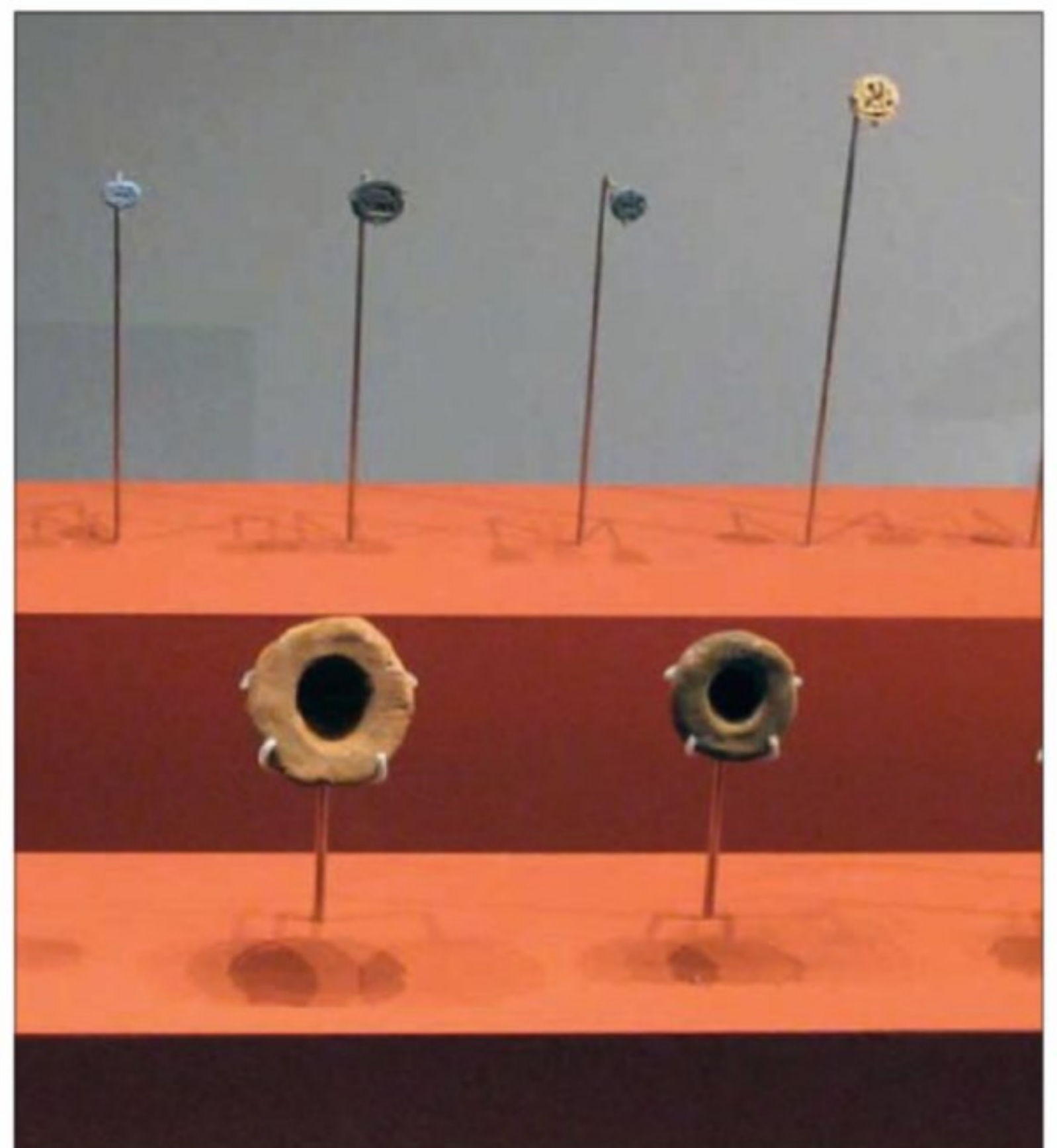
these temple sites have been located, although as few structural remains have actually been recovered, it is difficult to understand their complete layout and historical development. The sanctuaries would have occupied a significant proportion of the city area [see opposite bottom left, marked E (Hera), F (Apollo) and G (Dioscuri)]. The largest, the Hellenion, was located in the north of the city (*not shown on Petrie's plan, but located in the space north-east of G*) and consisted of a multi-chambered structure surrounded by a massive mudbrick wall. The sanctuary of Hera, which lay in the central part of the site, had close links with its 'mother' sanctuary, the Heraion on the island of Samos. This is clear from finds of special sanctuary pottery bearing the painted name of the goddess, which were produced on Samos specifically for the cult of Hera. In the south of the city were sanctuaries dedicated to Aphrodite and Apollo (*see above, right*).

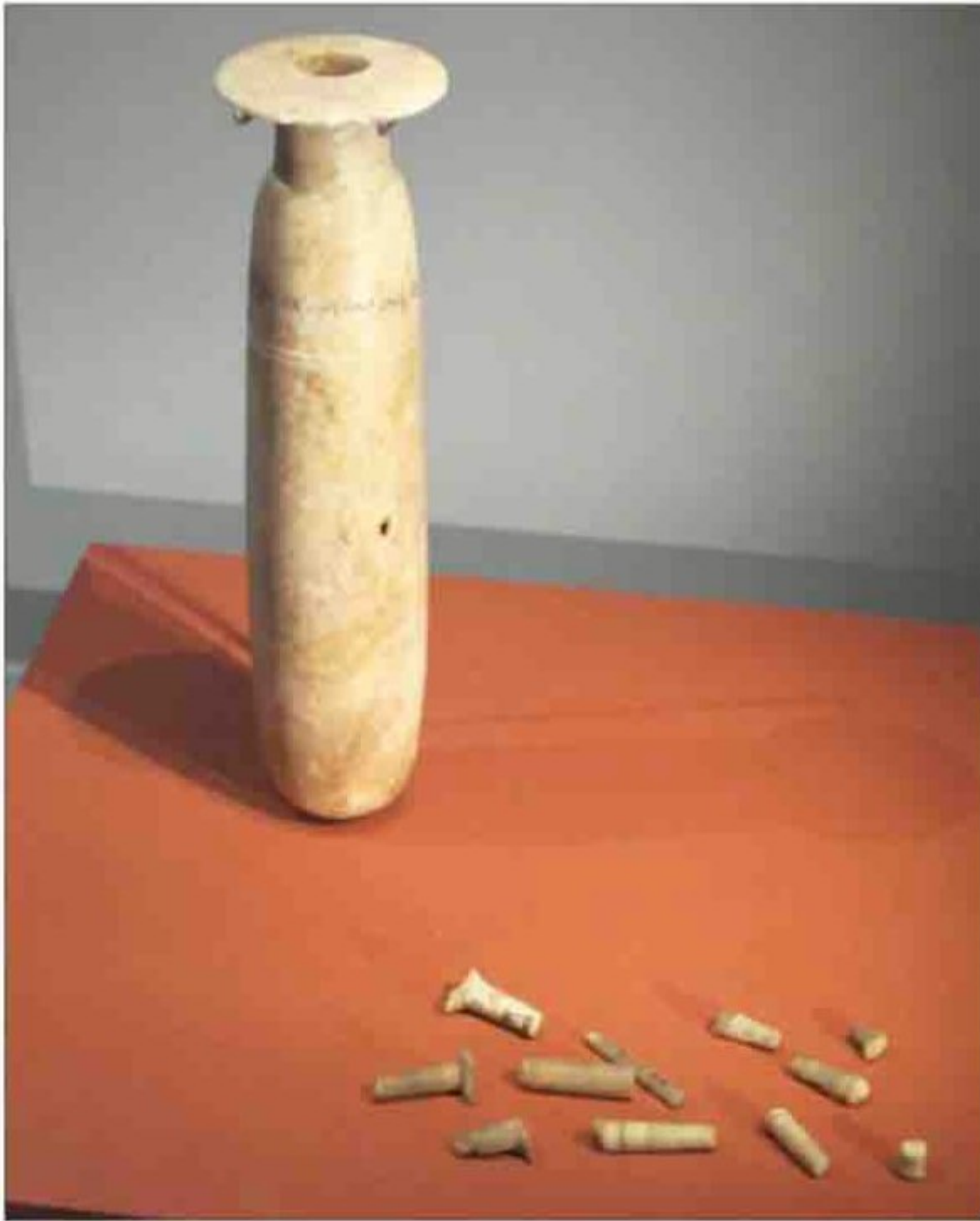
Recent magnetometry results and archaeological work indicate that as well as the sanctuary precincts, Naukratis was densely occupied with houses, storage buildings and workshops. The city would have been dominated by traditional Egyptian tall houses (*see above, left*) and irregular terraced buildings that provided accommodation for the significant population. Interspaced within the houses were the magazines and workshops; the function of a number of these has been identified. A faience workshop, often referred to as the 'scarab-factory' (*see right*), adjoining the sanctuary of Aphrodite, is perhaps the most celebrated of the workspaces. Here Flinders Petrie found raw materials for scarabs and scaraboids, as well as hundreds of terracotta moulds in the shape of simple domes, lions, rams' heads and the *wadjet* eye, a common image in the Greek world as well as in Egypt. The incised motifs on the underside of the scarabs display influences from different cultures, such as examples of the winged horse Pegasus

from Greece and orientalising creatures such as griffins. These motifs also functioned as seals, and Greek traders and other visitors to Naukratis provided a ready market for such goods.

Naukratis was an important centre for the production and trade of *alabastra* [small vessels for oils and perfumes]. A workshop for calcite alabastra and other stone vessels

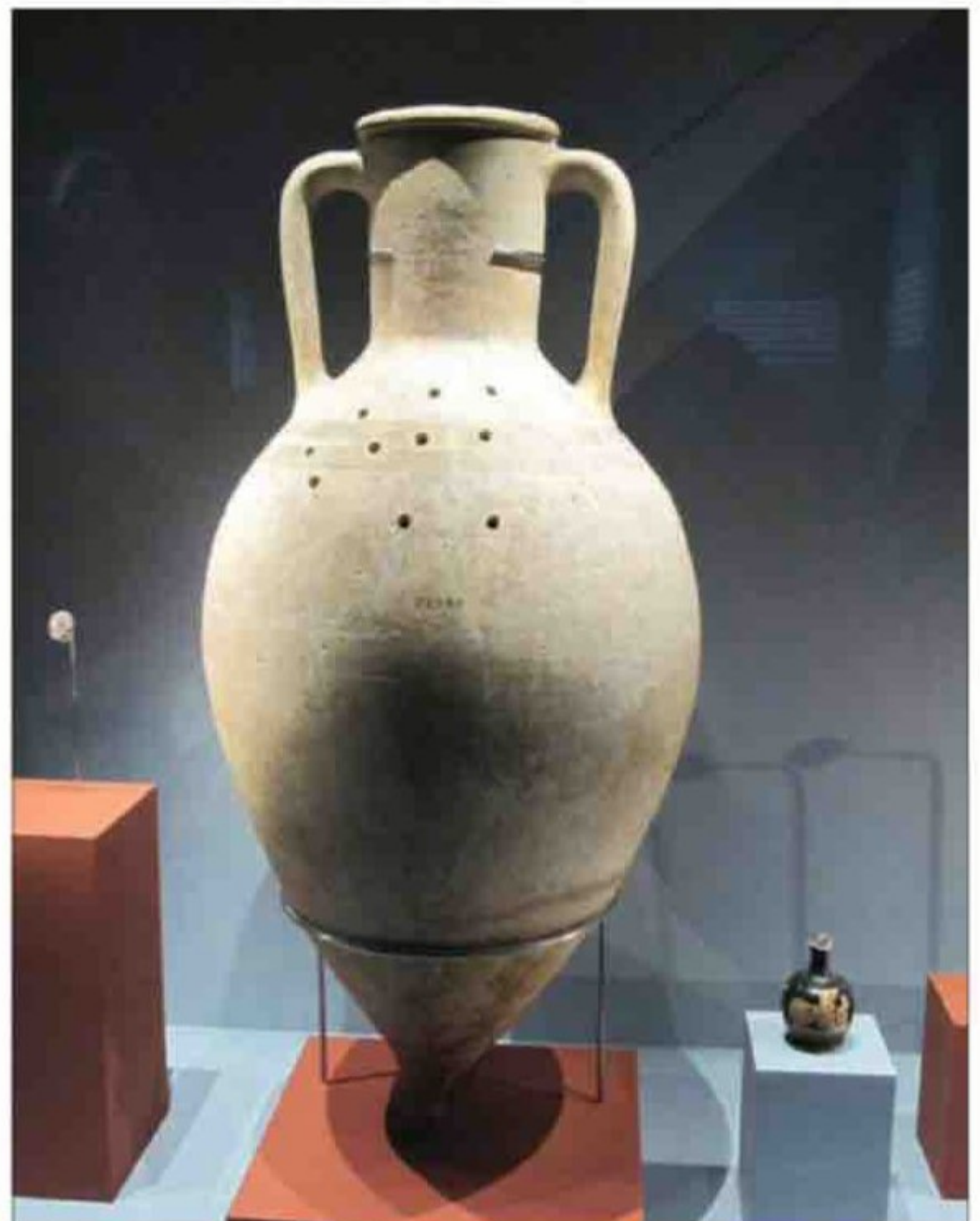
BELOW: Scarabs and other amulets with their moulds, found in the so-called 'scarab factory' at Naukratis. These items were traded widely and exported as far as Spain and Southern Russia. Photo: JPP





NAUKRATIS FINDS (clockwise from top left)

An imported *alabastron* incised with a Greek inscription 'cinnamon' discovered with the drill cores in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Naukratis; a faience biconical *alabastron* with zones of bichrome decoration including floral elements, dancers, and Bes-like figures (332–30 BC) – thought to have been discovered at Naukratis; an *aryballos* (oil flask) in the form of a hedgehog, among the most common form of faience oil flask – the place of production of these vases has traditionally been identified as Naukratis – faience, height as restored 5.7 cm; a Greek wine *amphora*, one of thousands of similar pottery vessels used to import wine, olive oil or perfume into Egypt. Photos: JPP (top left, bottom right); Metropolitan Museum of Art (top right, bottom left)



was discovered near the sanctuary of Apollo, where thousands of drill cores (characteristic leftovers of their production – see *opposite top left*) and unfinished calcite vessels were found. Workshops for the production of pottery were found at the north-eastern end of town, and in the eastern part were situated copper and iron smithies.

Imports and Exports

What was the nature of the wide variety of imports that passed through Naukratis? Significant quantities of metals such as copper, iron, tin and lead are listed in a fifth century BC tax register. There was also trade in wine, oil, wool and wood, with the latter being a scarce commodity in ancient Egypt that had long been imported, in particular cedar from the Lebanon. Wine and oil would have been conveyed in pottery jars called *amphorae* (see *opposite, bottom right*), and archaeological evidence indicates that by 640-630 BC Greek transport *amphorae* were penetrating much of Egypt.

The largest Egyptian export was grain, and there were also significant quantities of alum and natron (both important in fabric dyeing) being shipped. Papyrus and semi-luxury goods such as perfume and amulets, produced in the workshops at Naukratis, were other notable products.

Later History

From its peak in the Saite Period Naukratis gradually declined as an international port of trade, although there were still significant goods passing through the city in the fourth century BC. By the mid-Ptolemaic Period, Naukratis was still a busy regional centre, but no longer an international trading hub following the establishment of Alexandria.

The annexation of Egypt into the Roman Empire provided new trading opportunities for Naukratis; also there was a requirement to supply grain to Italy, as Egypt was now recognised as the 'bread basket' of the Empire. Moving forwards, later finds include Cypriot and Turkish tableware, amphorae dating to the fourth century AD, and archaeological finds up to at least the seventh century AD. There is some evidence that the central part of the town may have been destroyed at



some point, but outlying areas continued to be inhabited and these developed into the villages that exist there today.

Roger Forshaw

Roger is a retired dental surgeon, now Honorary Lecturer in Biological Anthropology and Egyptology at Manchester University and has written a number of papers on medicine, dentistry and healing practices in ancient Egypt. A regular contributor to *AE Magazine*, he is the author of *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian Society* (Archaeopress) and *Egypt of the Saite Pharaohs: 664-525 BC* (Manchester University Press), reviewed in *AE* 115.

ABOVE

The Royal Decree of Sais, a stela set up by Nectanebo I concerned with the taxation of goods passing through Thonis-Herakleion and Naukratis. A copy was found in the main Egyptian temple in each port.

Photo:JPP

THE TOMB OF KHENTKAWE AT GIZA

Geoffrey Lenox-Smith investigates an unusual Old Kingdom funerary monument which appears to be neither a mastaba nor a pyramid.



The tomb of Khentkawes at Giza is something of an enigma – it is not a conventional Old Kingdom *mastaba* and not a pyramid. It is located in the Giza main pyramid field, close to Menkaura's valley temple (*see map, opposite, bottom*). The tomb was excavated by the Egyptian Egyptologist Selim Hassan in the 1930s and is

now being studied by Mark Lehner and his team. So who was Khentkawes? What role did she play at the end of the Fourth Dynasty? And what form does her unusual monument take?

The royal family tree at the end of the Fourth Dynasty is uncertain (*see opposite, top right*). After the splendour of the reigns of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura who built their three magnificent pyramids at Giza, the dynasty seems to have faltered. The fact that each of the three pyramids is smaller than its predecessor indicates the declining trend in fortunes. Menkaura's probable eldest son, Khuenra, seems to have predeceased his father. The next pharaoh, Shepseskaf, a later son by an unknown queen, only ruled for a short period and seems to have had no sons, bringing the Fourth Dynasty to an end.

The royal line did still exist in the form of Khentkawes, if she was a daughter of Menkaura. The fact that her tomb at Giza is located close to Menkaura's pyramid complex is possible evidence that she was closely related to Menkaura. The first pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty, Userkaf, may have married Khentkawes to bolster his claim to the throne.

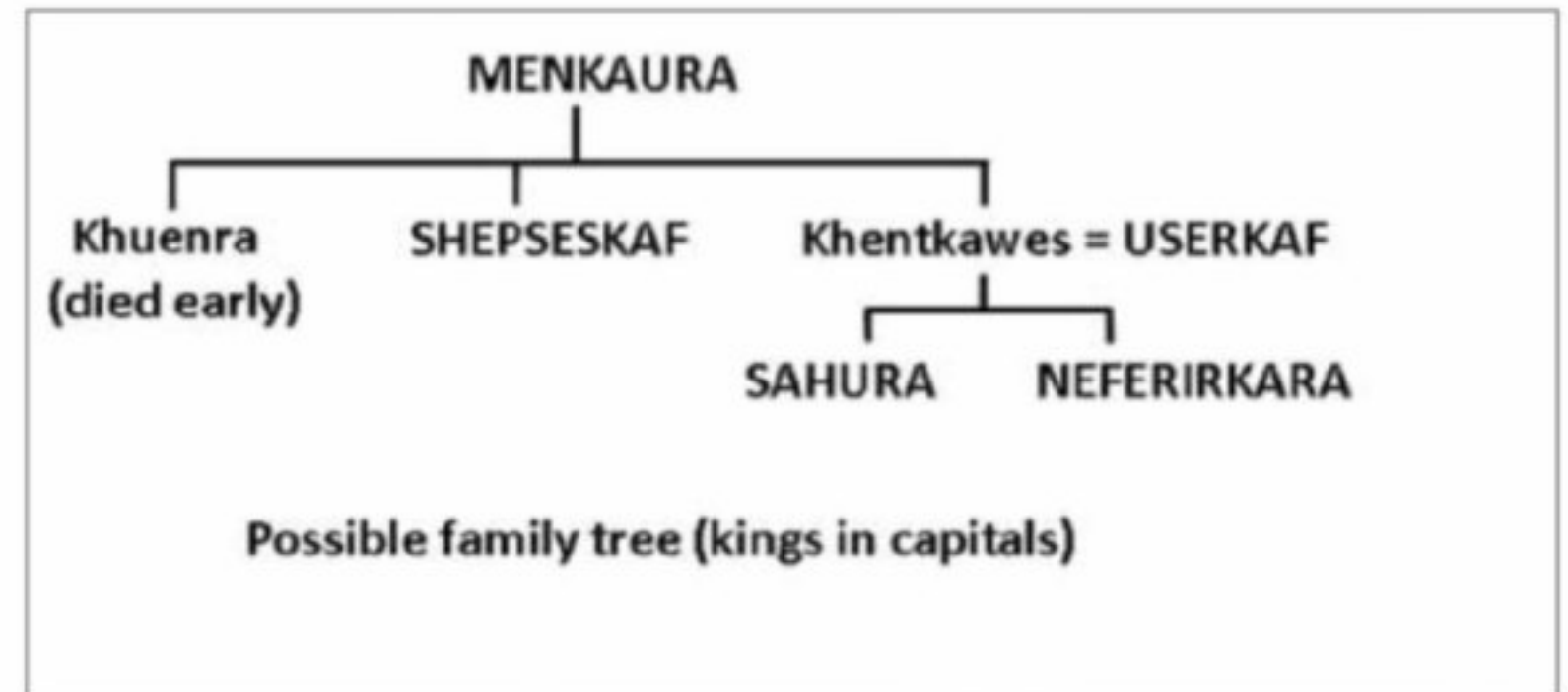
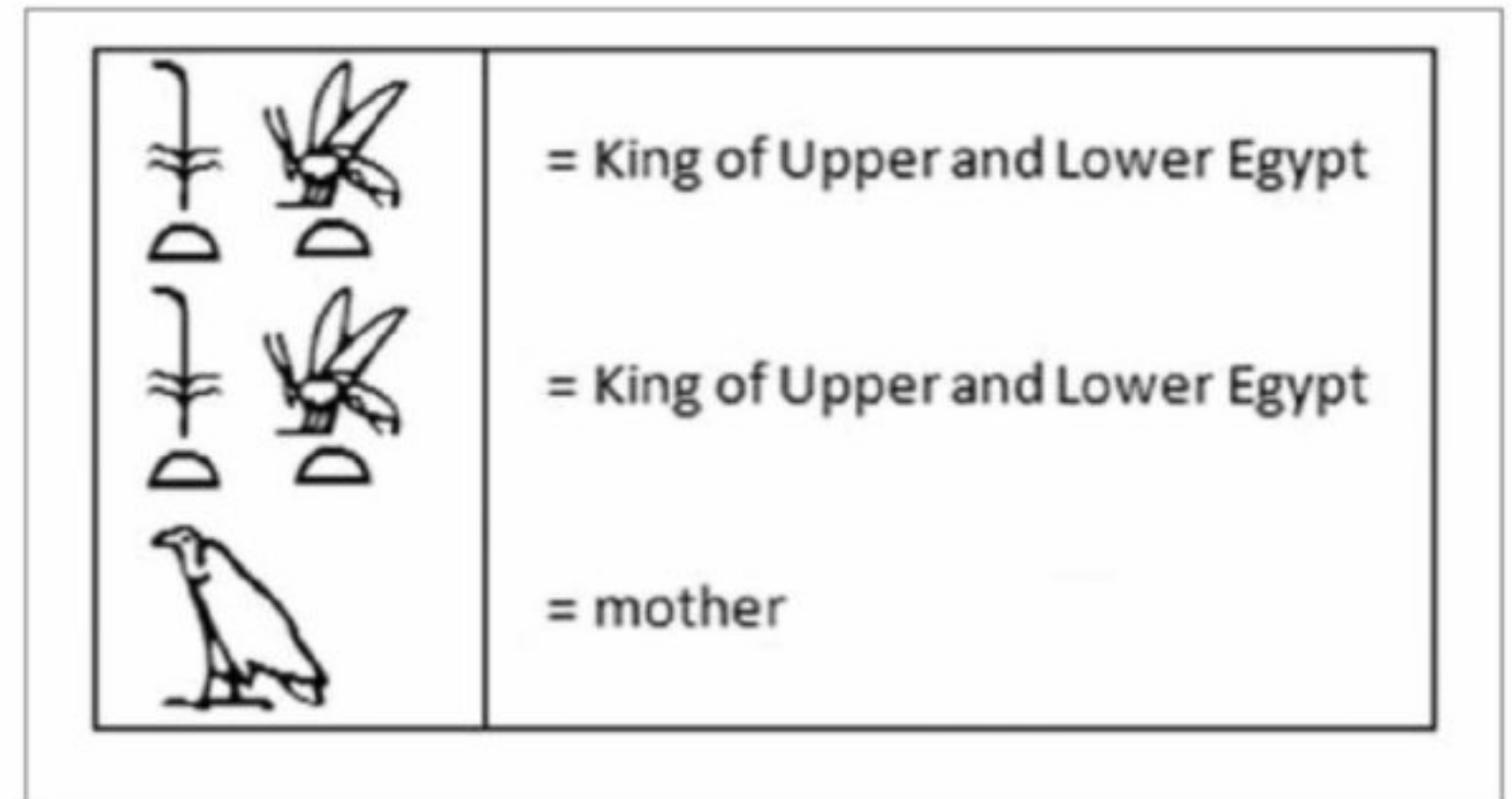
The 'Khentkawes Problem'

Khentkawes' status has been argued about for decades. The problem arises from the set of titles she holds,

TOP: The Tomb of Khentkawes seen from the south-west.

LEFT: A close-up of the image of Khentkawes, possibly wearing a *uraeus* and a false beard.



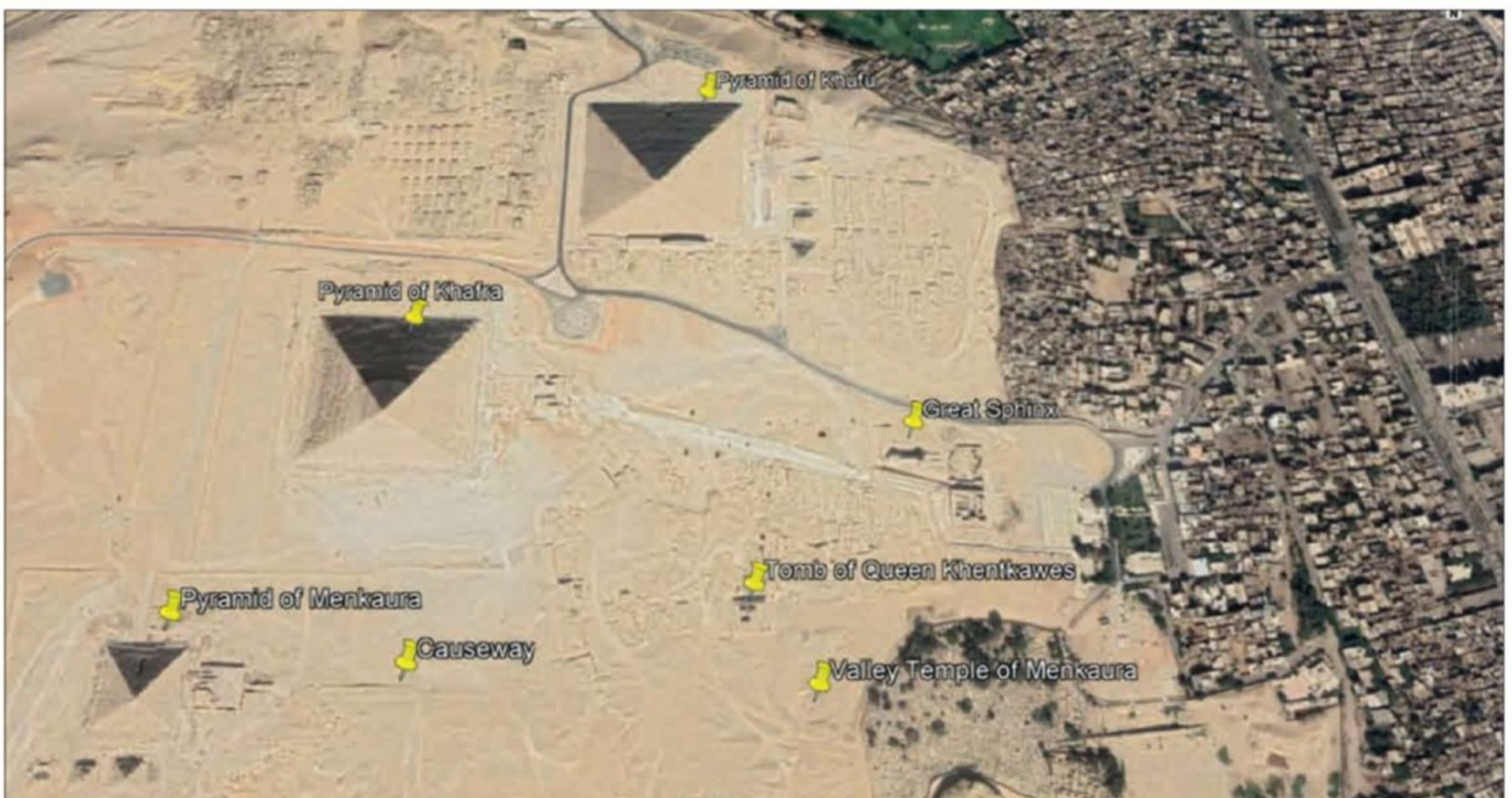


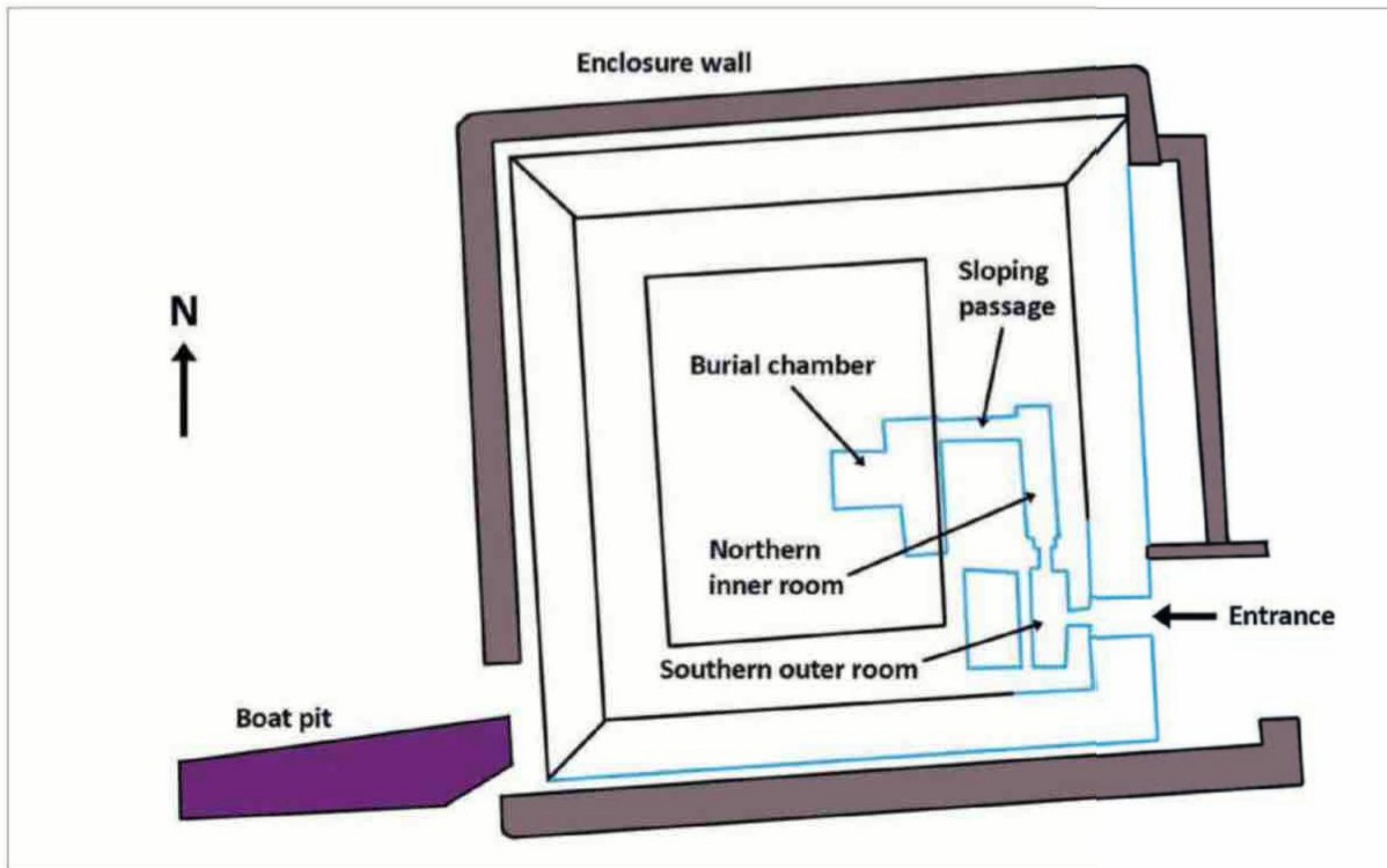
ABOVE: The titles of Queen Khentkawes inscribed on the granite jambs of the tomb entrance. The queen may have been the daughter of Menkaura and consort of Userkaf, as shown in one possible family tree.

inscribed on the granite doorway to her tomb (*see opposite, bottom left and above*). These can alternatively be read as: 'Mother of two Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt'; or as: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt and mother of a King of Upper and Lower Egypt'. The first alternative has Khentkawes as the mother of two kings, for example Sahura and Neferirkara (as in my possible family tree). The second alternative argues that Khentkawes may have ruled as pharaoh in her own right, probably while the

next intended pharaoh was still a small child. Either of these readings is possible from the hieroglyphs on the granite fragments. Proponents of the second alternative argue that the image of Khentkawes carved outside her tomb (*see opposite bottom left*) shows her with a *uraeus* and a false beard, symbols of royalty. I am not wholly convinced by this argument – you have to squint your eyes carefully to see the *uraeus* and the false beard separately from the natural grain of the granite.

BELOW: A Google Earth map of the Giza plateau showing the location of the Tomb of Khentkawes in relation to the Pyramids of Khufu, Khafra and Menkaura.





External Structure

The base of the tomb is a large square of limestone bedrock, some 43m by 43m square and 10m high, which was left behind when the stone around it was quarried for the three great Giza pyramids. On top of this solid bedrock pedestal, a *mastaba*-like structure was built of large blocks of limestone (*see below and opposite*). Various explorers have cut trenches through the masonry of the *mastaba* looking for chambers, but none have been found.

The tomb has external features more typically found in a pyramid complex. At the southwestern corner, a boat pit was dug oriented east-west, that is ready for the boat to symbolically travel to the western horizon as the sun sets (*see below left*). Today the boat pit is partly full of sand that has drifted in since Hassan excavated it in the 1930s, but he established that the pit was 4.25m deep and 30.25m long. He speculated that a second boat pit might lie to the north of the first, the two boats together representing the day and night barques of the sun.

A thick mud-brick wall with rounded corners was built around the tomb perimeter to define the extent of the funerary enclosure. Hassan found a gap in the wall in the southwest, beside the boat pit. He suggested that possibly the gap would allow the queen's spirit to travel from her burial chamber to the boat pit, so she could easily set sail with the sun. A further gap in the wall on the east allows access to the entrance to the tomb chapel (*see above*).

The south wall of the bedrock pedestal has a series of vertical niches carved into it (*see opposite, bottom*). Hassan thought this was the remains of decoration in the typical Old Kingdom

ABOVE

Plan of the Tomb of Khentkawes.

BELOW

The depression showing the location of the boat pit.

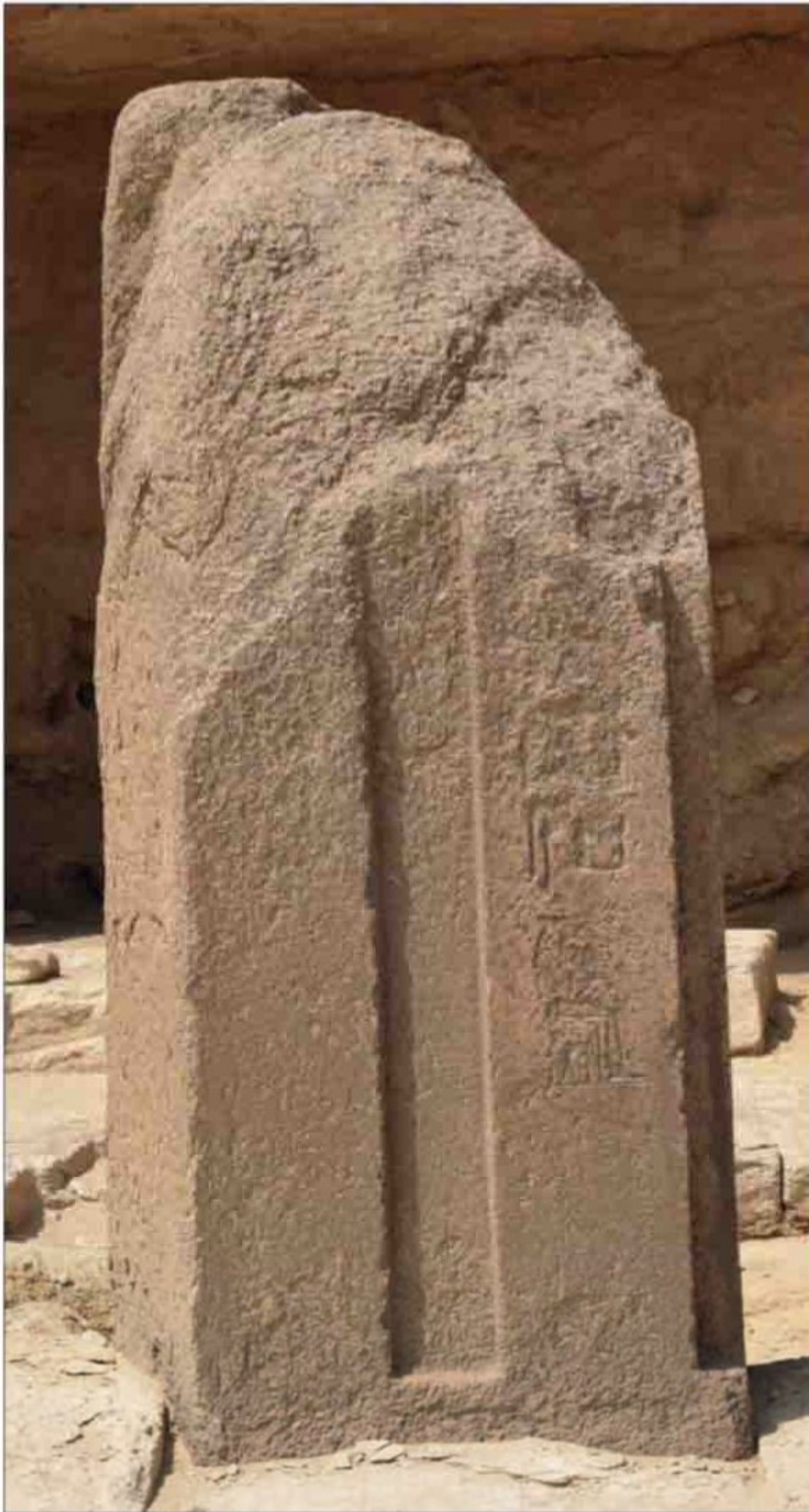




ABOVE: The tomb seen from the south-east, with the pyramids of Khafra and Menkaure in the distance.

BELOW: Vertical niches on the southern wall.





ABOVE: A granite jamb carved with the name and an image of Khentkawes.

‘palace-façade’ style usually seen painted on sarcophagi, so the whole pedestal might originally have been thought of as a giant sarcophagus for Khentkawes.

A causeway slopes down from the tomb to the east, as with the three Giza pyramids. In later dynasties, houses were built on the causeway where the priests maintaining the cult of Khentkawes could live.

Internal Structure

The tomb-chapel consists of two rooms: a southern outer room in the south-eastern corner where the builders had completely cut away the bedrock pedestal, and a northern inner room cut inside the pedestal rock. The southern outer room is today open to the sky since the stone walls and ceiling beams built around it have disappeared. A modern iron gate has been installed between the two rooms to protect the inside of the tomb.

Two red granite door jambs stood each side of the entrance, as described earlier. On each jamb was carved the name and titles of the queen followed by her image seated on a throne (*see left*). Can you see her wearing a *uraeus* and a false beard to signify her status as a pharaoh in her own right? Or is she wearing the vulture headdress worn by queen mothers? Or is there just a natural unevenness to the granite surface?

Inside the northern inner room, a sloping passage leads down to the burial chamber. Several of the granite blocks that once lined this passage are still in place today. The passage is short compared with a typical pyramid, sloping down for about nine metres at an angle of 26 degrees to reach the subterranean burial chamber carved out of the bedrock.

The burial chamber is an impressive 8m long by 2.6m wide by 3.7m high. A large rectangular depression cut in the floor presumably held the queen’s sarcophagus, but today sadly it is missing. Selim Hassan suggested that the sarcophagus may originally have been made of polished alabaster, since he found many fragments of alabaster on the floor of the chamber. It seems to have been smashed in antiquity. Currently there is no public access to the inside of the tomb.

Conclusion

The funerary monument of Queen Khentkawes is a one-off in the catalogue of Old Kingdom royal tombs, being neither a regular pyramid nor a *mastaba*, although it exhibits elements of both. Since the complex is so close to Menkaura’s causeway and valley temple, it is tempting to suggest a close family relationship between the two. Perhaps Khentkawes was a daughter of Menkaura. Unfortunately no firm evidence has so far been found to confirm or refute this suggestion.

Whoever she was, the large size and innovative style of her monument imply that she was an important figure at the end of the Fourth Dynasty. She seems to have had a pyramid town of dedicated priests maintaining the cult of her memory. So perhaps it is possible that, at some point, she did rule as pharaoh in her own right in the troubled transition between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties: Pharaoh Khentkawes, King of Upper and Lower Egypt!

Geoffrey Lenox-Smith

Geoffrey is a chartered accountant from London who holds the Certificate in Egyptology from Birkbeck, University of London. He is a regular visitor to Egypt.

All photos by the author.

Further Reading

- Dodson, A. and Hilton, D. (2010) *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Hassan, S. (1943) *Excavations at Giza, volume IV, 1932 – 1933*. Cairo: Government Press.
- Lehner, M. and Hawass, Z. (2017) *Giza and the Pyramids*. London: Thames & Hudson.

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Readers' Competition



If you recognise where in Egypt the photo above was taken (by RBP), and whom the main statue represents, email or write to the Editor of *AE* before 17th January 2020 (addresses on page 3) with your answer, **giving your full name and address**.

Three lucky readers will have their names selected at random from all the correct answers and will win one of the Christmas prize books: *Understanding Hieroglyphs* by Hilary Wilson, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt* by Donald Malcolm Reid and *Five Egyptian Goddesses* by Susan Hollis. The names of the winners will be revealed in the February/March 2020 edition of *AE*.

October/November 2019 Competition Winner

Congratulations to the winner of the competition that appeared in the last issue of the magazine (*AE* 116)

Helena Regan
of Nottingham

who wins a copy of
Sethy I King of Egypt: His Life and Afterlife by Aidan Dodson



The photo (above) shows the Roman Mammisi at the Temple of Hathor at Dendera.



Writing



An educated Egyptian man, a scribe, often chose to be remembered in the form of a statue, shown seated, cross-legged with a papyrus scroll unrolled across his lap and his hand poised to write (*see above*). The stone page was the ideal surface for the biographical inscription making it look as if the scribe was writing his own CV. Almost always the text is written in hieroglyphs which take up far more space than any well-trained scribe would dare to use on precious papyrus.

In fact, hieroglyphs were largely reserved for big important inscriptions on stelae, obelisks and temple walls. Even then, the type of stone into which the glyphs were cut and the method of carving dictated the form of the individual signs. Lengthy texts carved into the walls of tombs were often painted in a limited range of colours, as in the tomb of Ramesses VI (*left*) where the predominant scheme is

ABOVE: A scribe statue showing the hieroglyphic biographical inscription on the papyrus unrolled across his lap. Turin.

LEFT: A hieroglyphic inscription in the burial chamber of Ramesses VI's tomb in the Valley of the Kings. The colour scheme is predominately red and blue. Photo: RBP.



blue and red, or even in a single colour, usually black (*see above left*). When hieroglyphs were painted directly on to a flat surface such as a wooden stela or plastered wall, they tended to be drawn in simple silhouette (*above right*) so that signs of a similar size and shape can easily be mistaken for one another. In some tombs, like that of Thutmose III, walls were painted in imitation of a papyrus scroll with an even more space-saving form of hieroglyphic writing which is sometimes called cursive (*see below left*). This is still a hieroglyphic script but many signs have been reduced to their bare essentials for ease of writing. For instance, the symbol for 'man' is a kneeling figure with arms bent at the elbows, the front hand raised and the other held across the body:



The cursive form omits the head as unnecessary and emphasises the pose of the arms:



The sign for 'speak' or 'eat' is a similar figure with one hand raised to the mouth and the other arm hanging down behind the body:



In its cursive shape the front arm becomes an exaggerated loop raised to the face which is represented by a small blob:



Birds of similar body shape also have distinguishing features such as tail feathers or curving neck highlighted. For instance, the owl's shield-shaped face is so distinctive that in its cursive form the bird's body and legs are reduced to a couple of curved lines:



While some cursive hieroglyphs appear virtually unchanged, others have been stylised almost beyond recognition.

TOP LEFT

A *shabti* box showing Thoth with his writing palette, Turin. The text is written in black hieroglyphs.

TOP RIGHT

The Old Kingdom painted limestone statue of Prince Rahotep in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. His name and titles are given in 'silhouette' hieroglyphs.

BOTTOM LEFT

A scene of the underworld from the replica of the tomb of Thutmose III in Bolton Museum. Drawn in cursive hieroglyphs with 'stick' figures.

BOTTOM RIGHT

The same scene from a funerary papyrus in Turin.





ABOVE: The *Book of the Dead* of the architect Kha, showing Thoth the inventor of writing. The text is written in cursive hieroglyphs. Turin.

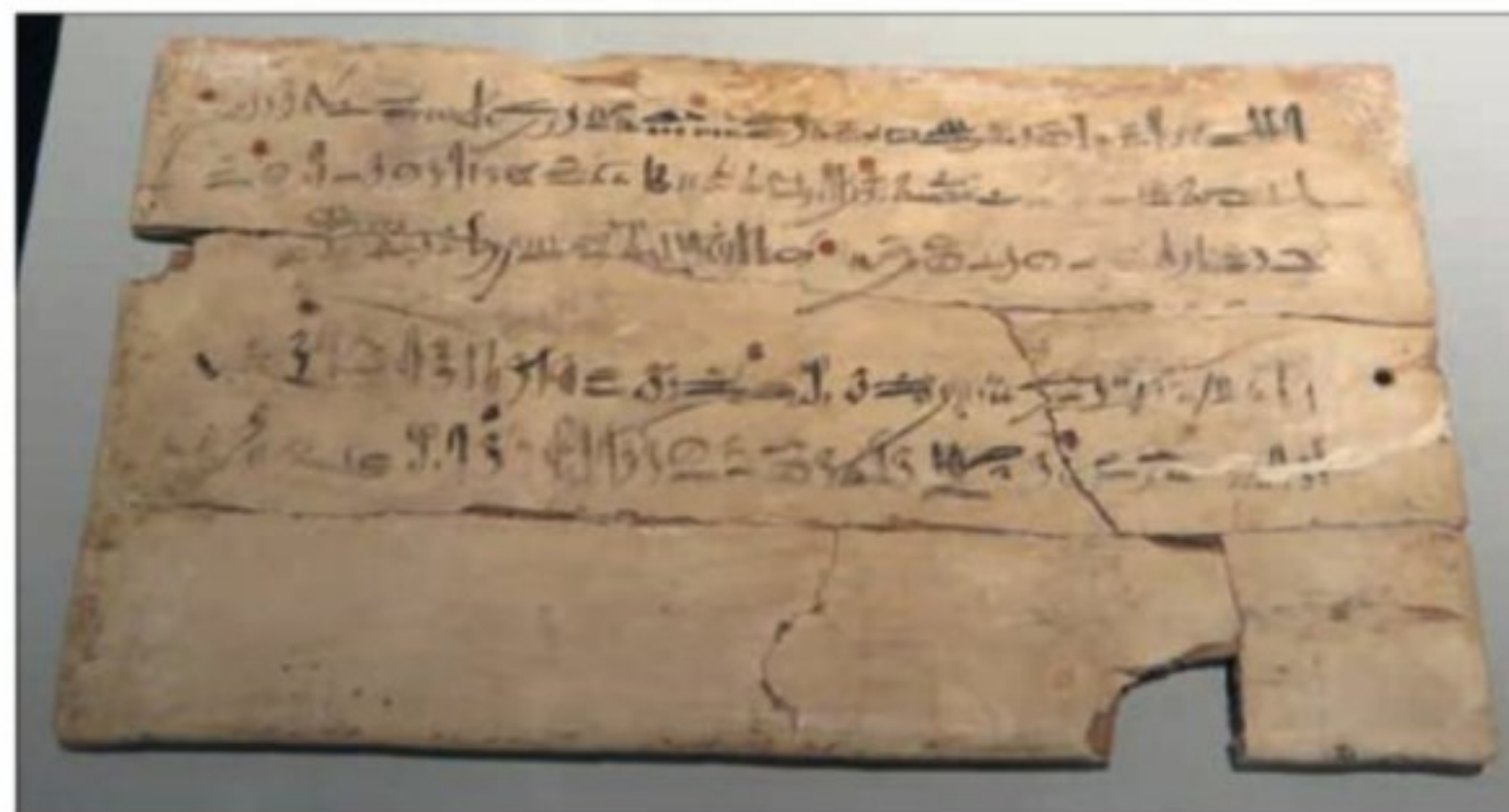
BELOW: A vignette from the same papyrus, showing the deceased and his wife before Osiris. The captions for these important images are in more formal hieroglyphs than on the rest of the papyrus.





ABOVE: Spells 155 and 156 for the preparation of *Djed* and *Tyet* amulets, written in cursive hieroglyphs. *Book of the Dead* of Kha, Turin

BELOW: *Book of the Dead* Spells 155 and 156 for the preparation of *Djed* and *Tyet* amulets, written in hieratic. Turin.



ABOVE: Hieratic script on a writing board, Brooklyn Museum of Art.

Looking at these simplified, almost abstract cursive signs it is clear that, decorative as it may appear, the hieroglyphic script was never a purely pictorial form of writing.

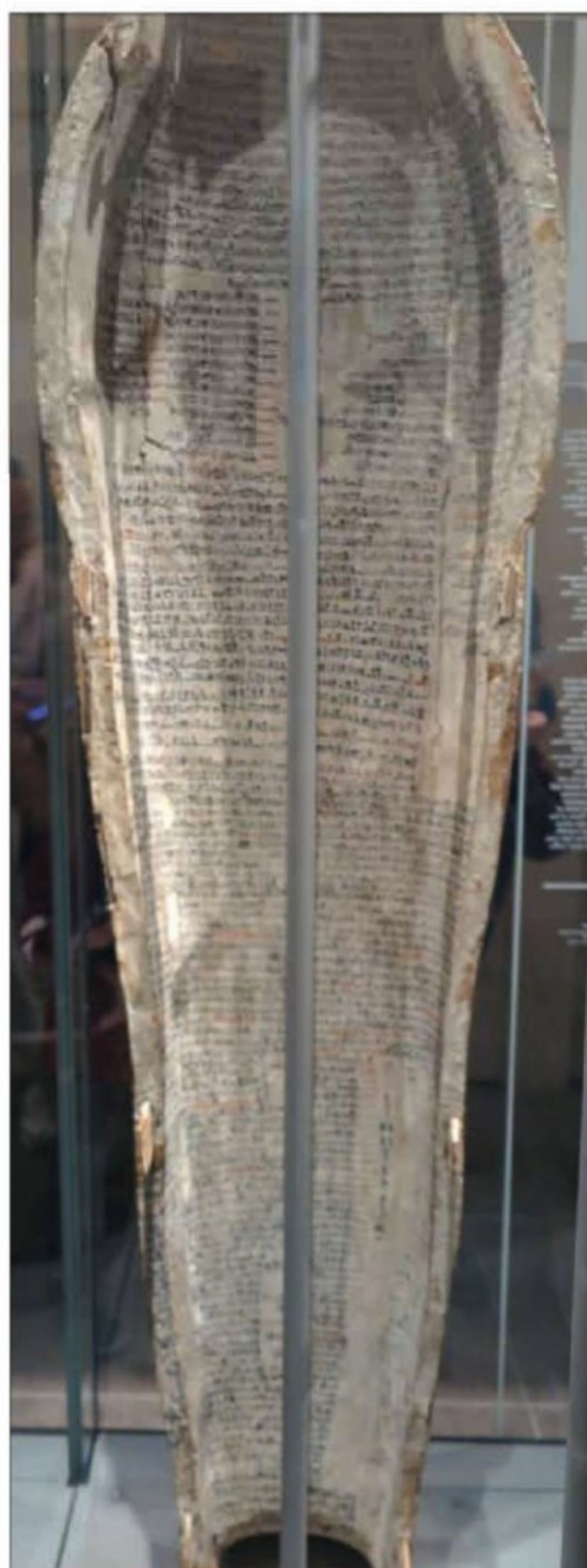
The cursive script was particularly suitable for writing on papyrus, especially the finest and most elaborate funerary texts, like the *Book of the Dead* of the architect Kha (see opposite, top) in the Egyptian Museum, Turin. The main text is written in cursive glyphs while captions for the most important illustrations, known as vignettes, were written in more classical hieroglyphs (see opposite). These papyri, which could be very long and highly detailed, were expensive items of funerary equipment over which the scribe took great care.

For everyday documents on papyrus or the limestone flakes and pottery shards known as ostraca, even more reduced script forms were developed. The oldest of these, in use side-by-side with hieroglyphs from at least the start of the Old Kingdom, is now called hieratic (see above and below), a Greek term meaning 'sacred' or 'priestly' script. In ancient Egyptian, hieratic and hieroglyphic were both called 'the God's Words', because writing was believed to have been the invention of the god Thoth, though neither script was reserved solely for religious texts.

Occasionally hieratic inscriptions appear on temple or tomb walls or scrawled on cliff faces but these are usually informal texts. At Meidum, Eighteenth Dynasty 'tourists' left their graffiti in the chapel of the Third Dynasty pyramid showing that hieratic was the everyday script of the

BELOW: A map of the mines and routes of the Eastern Desert with hieratic captions. Turin.



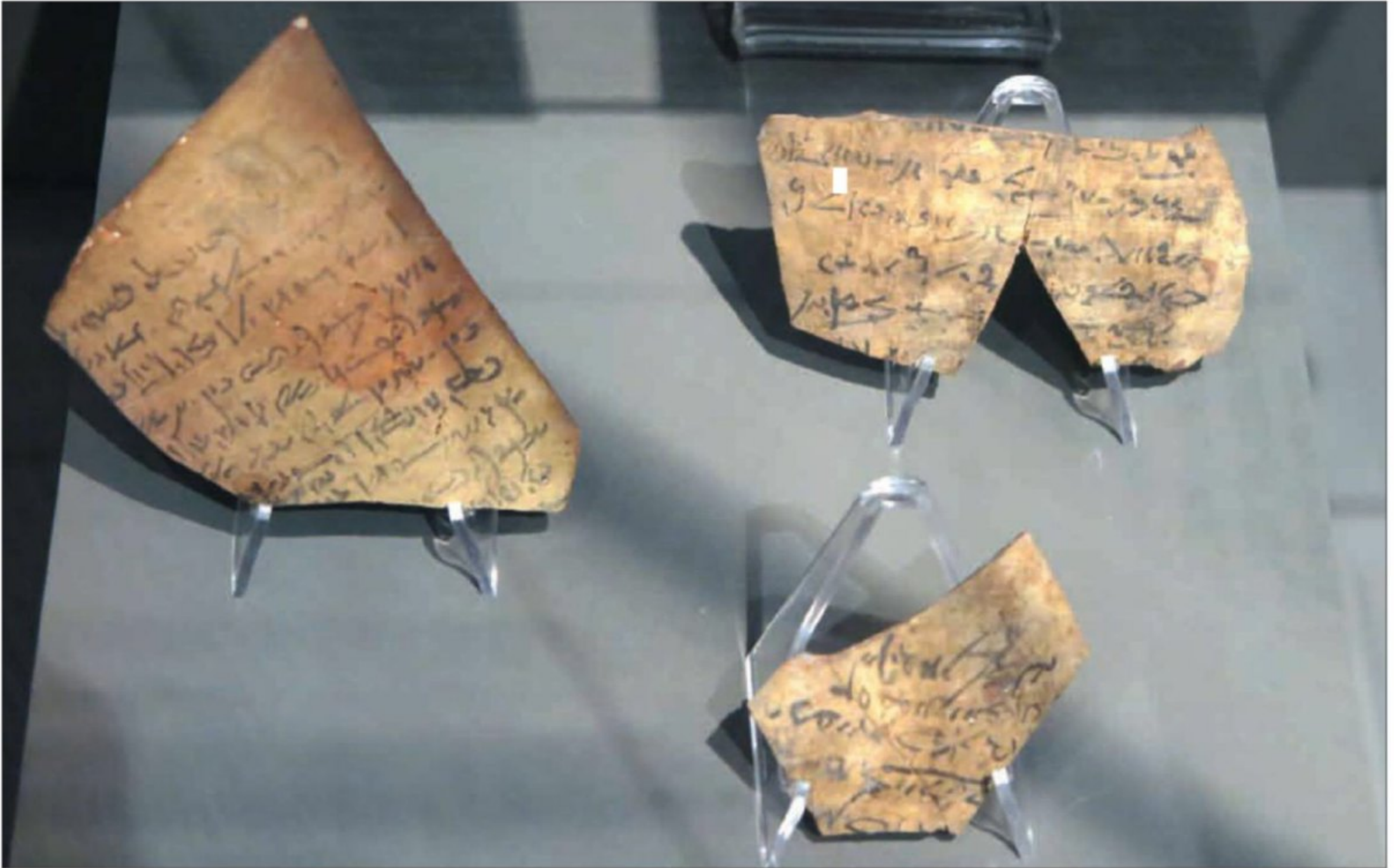


TOP
A plan of the tomb of Ramesses VI, showing the burial chamber. The labels and captions are in hieratic. Turin.

BOTTOM
A coffin interior completely covered with hieratic texts. Also in Turin Museum.

literate Egyptian. Hieratic looks much more like a modern handwriting and was written from right to left, usually in horizontal lines but also in columns. While hieroglyphs were commonly grouped in neat blocks avoiding unsightly and inefficient gaps, hieratic symbols were linked together in what are now called ligatures which could be drawn in a few continuous brush strokes. At its neatest, hieratic can be very decorative and pages of the *Book of the Dead* can look as impressive as any Medieval illuminated manuscript, but each scribe developed his own writing style and some are more legible than others. Qenhirkhopshef, the Chief Scribe at Deir el-Medina from the mid-Nineteenth Dynasty, had a very distinctive hand and the texts written by one of his successors, Butehamun, are particularly difficult to read.

Despite the obvious development of hieratic from hieroglyphic, in a page of hieratic writing it is much more difficult to pick out individual signs. Even more hard to imagine is the connection between hieroglyphic and the later development of the Egyptian script which is now called demotic, 'the people's script'. The Egyptians called this script 'the writing of the documents' as it was used for all kinds of texts from the Late Period into the Graeco-Roman era, and was even used in a carved form on official decrees, the best-known example being the middle section of the Rosetta Stone. Today the study of demotic is a very specialised discipline.



The late American Egyptologist, Barbara Mertz, called demotic, “row upon row of agitated commas, each of which represents a totally different sign. It is perfectly dreadful stuff to read.”

In Ptolemaic times a fourth script was used to transcribe the Egyptian language. This was Coptic, ‘of the Copts’, meaning the writing of the native Egyptians (*see right*). Written in the Greek alphabet with the addition of seven extra signs derived from hieroglyphs or hieratic to cover sounds which did not occur in Greek, Coptic eventually became established as the language of the Coptic Christian Church. The link between Coptic and the ancient Egyptian language had all but been forgotten until nineteenth century scholars started to work on the decipherment of hieroglyphs in earnest. And that is another story.

Hilary Wilson

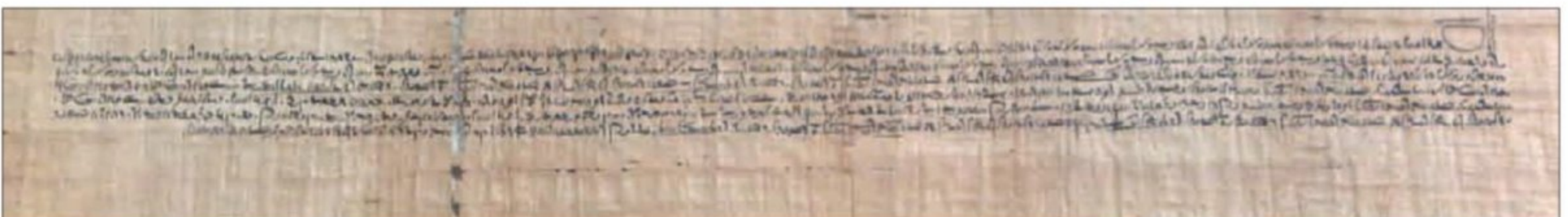
All images by the author, except where indicated.



ABOVE
Demotic ostraca, Turin.

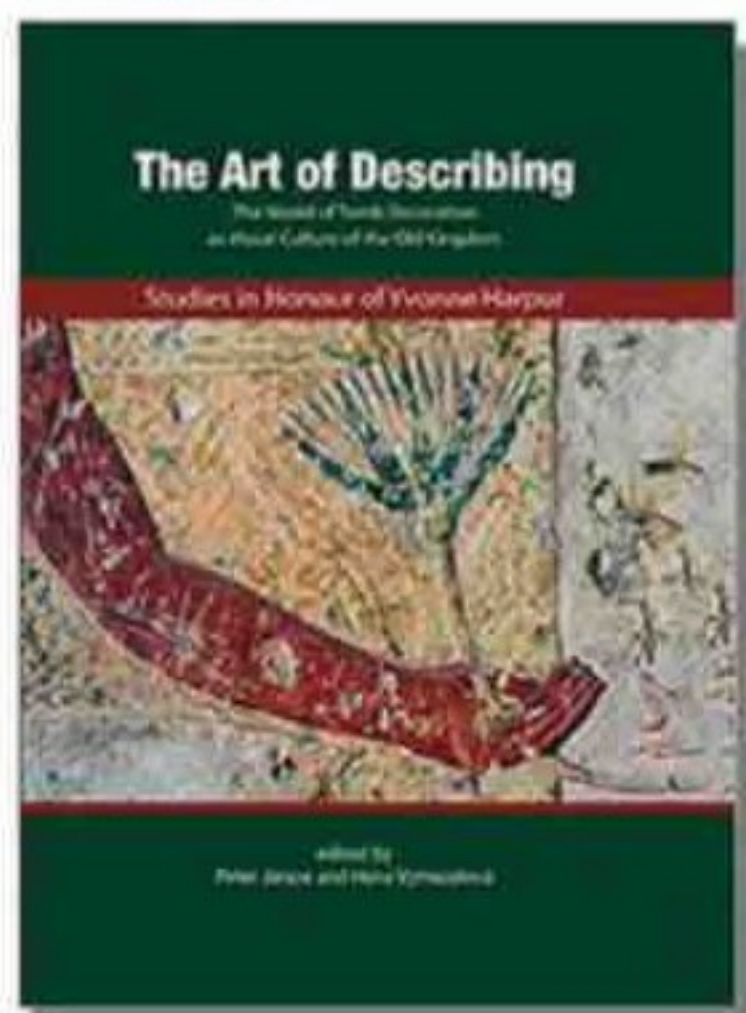
LEFT
A jar inscribed with a Coptic text, Turin.

BELOW
A Ptolemaic contract in close-written demotic script. The empty space on the papyrus suggests that this was a file or archive document intended for the recording of other such contracts. Turin.



The Art of Describing: The World of Tomb Decoration as Visual Culture of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Honour of Yvonne Harpur edited by Peter Jánosi and Hana Vymazalová.

Czech Institute of Egyptology,
Charles University, 2018
ISBN 978-807-308770-8
Hardback, £65.



Yvonne Harpur is best known among Egyptologists as one of the foremost scholars of ancient Egyptian art and architecture from the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, in particular for her detailed studies of tomb scenes. In his paper, Karol Myśliwiec reiterates this by stating that “*The devil is in the details, and nobody knows it better than Yvonne Harpur*”. Notably, Harpur’s pioneering work on the *Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene Details Database* provides all who use it with a comprehensive online resource of details from Old Kingdom tomb scenes throughout Egypt. This is especially useful for students and for those who wish to examine a particular tomb, or type of tomb scene, in detail.

This volume, written in honour of Harpur, brings together a set of papers that range in focus from detailed studies of particular Old Kingdom tomb scenes and sculpture, to the presentation of the decoration programmes of burial chambers. Material culture relating to familiar characters from the Old Kingdom, including Kagemni and Rashepses, is examined from new viewpoints that prove that we still have much to learn from the rich artistic outputs of the Old Kingdom. One paper in particular – that on the ‘Serdab-Statue of Ty’ by Paolo Scremin – highlights how new light can be shone on even those

monuments which we believe we already know so much about.

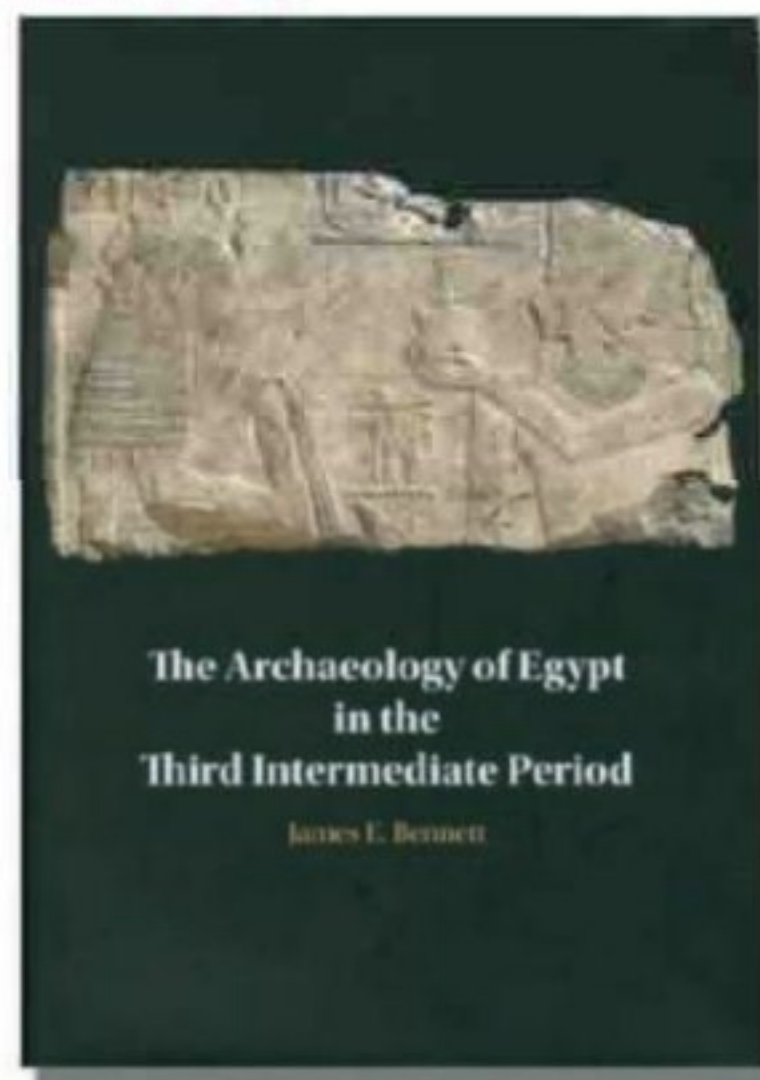
The papers are beautifully illustrated throughout with colour and black-and-white images and line drawings, which bring the discussions on the different artistic representations to life. One particularly useful feature of this book is a set of lined ‘note’ pages at the back, where readers can add their own notes on the subject should they wish. This book will appeal to those interested in the art of the Old Kingdom, as well as to readers who would like to extend their knowledge of ancient Egyptian art and architecture more generally.

Anna Garnett

The Archaeology of Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period

by James E. Bennett.

Cambridge University Press, 2019
ISBN 978-1-108-48208-0
Hardback, £85.



Study of the Third Intermediate Period of ancient Egypt has to date largely focussed on chronology and funerary material but, as with other periods, the advent of modern technology has re-focussed attention onto regions previously thought to be unexploitable by archaeological method. In Egypt this has meant that data from cultivated areas is now being retrieved. In short, settlement archaeology is moving onto the centre ground where once funerary monuments and religious stone buildings dominated study.

This book by James Bennett, which arose out of a doctoral thesis, sets out to define concepts of transition and continuity following the breakdown of

centralised government after the Twentieth Dynasty and proposes a model for assessing Egyptian cultural evolution and historical development by examination of settlement archaeology. This is achieved in five well-stocked chapters, all demonstrating the author’s comprehensive investigation of evidence both textual and material.

Following a brief historical survey of the Period, Bennett discusses settlement patterns and land policy. Here the difficulties of excavating sites devastated by sediment deposition, urban expansion, agriculture and looting (ancient and modern) are surveyed in order to establish a methodology for defining the political landscape of the time. He then analyses settlement sites and remains, revealing patterns of urban development which illustrate how local populations mainly became self-sufficient within the fragmented organisation of the country. This is reinforced in the next chapter where a wide range of domestic materials is quantified to indicate social and religious changes that characterise the Third Intermediate Period. A final chapter summarises and defines how we can assess the Period through the lives of the ‘common people’ rather than from bald royal statistical information.

Throughout the volume, the emphasis on inclusivity is impressive. The author has obviously examined a vast amount of data on a very wide range of topics to provide a solid foundation from which scholars may determine what changed, and what did not change, after the breakup of the New Kingdom. Egypt became rather insular during the 400-odd years of the TIP, which is reflected by a downturn in imported goods and materials, leading to self-sufficiency and re-use at all levels. However, any popular concept of the Period being one of disorder is firmly denied by the evidence reviewed here. People may have been slightly poorer overall, but life, religious and practical, continued in the same way as during governance high points such as the New Kingdom.

The author provides an excellent gazetteer of Third Intermediate Period sites providing information on known archaeology, helpfully providing modern Arabic names where known, and notes on the more important places. Temple building is dealt

with in Appendix 2, and there is an extensive, comprehensive bibliography. While never intended as ‘fireside’ reading, this scholarly work provides the reader with a refreshingly up-to-date survey of an important period of Egyptian history, sourced not from tomb or temple, but from the still under-studied settlement arena.

Alan L. Jeffreys

Life Within the Five Walls:

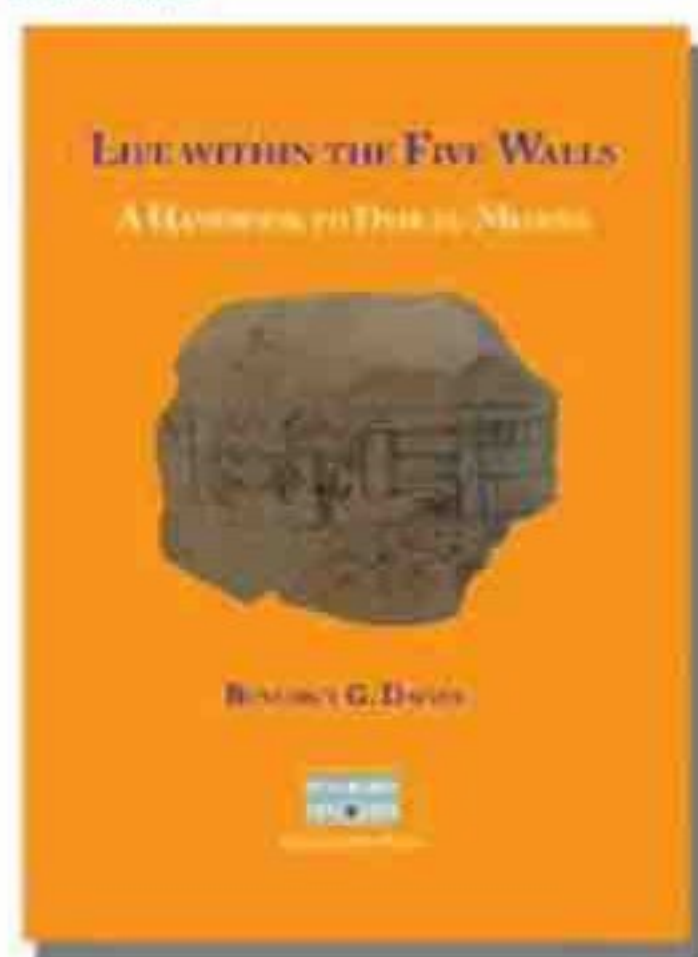
A Handbook to Deir el-Medina

by Benedict G. Davies.

Abercromby Press, 2019

ISBN 978-1-912246-02-1

Hardback, £60 / AE Readers £45 (see below).



As Editor of AE, there are a few books on my bookshelves that show signs of very frequent use, such as the *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, and I suspect that this masterpiece by Benedict Davies will be another. It contains a series of informative and clearly-written articles covering every aspect of the life within the “Five Walls” (not only the Workmen’s Village of Deir el-Medina, but also the administrative area surrounding it), arranged in alphabetical order from “Abandonment of Deir el-Medina” to “Workmen’s Marks”. There is even an explanation for the “*Grand Puits*”, the huge (dry) well that became the dumping-ground for hundreds of ostraca.

Administrative records from the village give fascinating glimpses of the daily lives of the tomb workers and ancillary staff and the community’s thriving network of personal business dealings. A diverse mix of personalities living in such claustrophobic conditions led to frequent conflict,

with cases of abuses of power, embezzlement, adultery, acts of violence against other workers, worker’s strikes and prosecutions brought against tomb robbers all documented.

Also included and equally useful is a series of Annexes, including: a Timeline showing the important developments relating to the activities of the villagers, arranged in order of the reigns of the relevant pharaohs; ancient Egyptian weights and measures; the names of the inhabitants of the houses in the village where these are known (including the infamous Chief Workman Paneb, well-noted for his violence and intimidation); and the names of the owners of the Deir el-Medina tombs. There is an extensive Bibliography, List of Sources and a comprehensive Index. This is a reference book *par excellence* and is highly recommended to all readers of AE and indeed all professional Egyptologists.

JPP

AE Magazine readers can order this book at a special discounted price of £45 (quoting AP/2019) from:

www.abercrombypress.co.uk

The Egyptian Collection at Norwich Castle Museum:

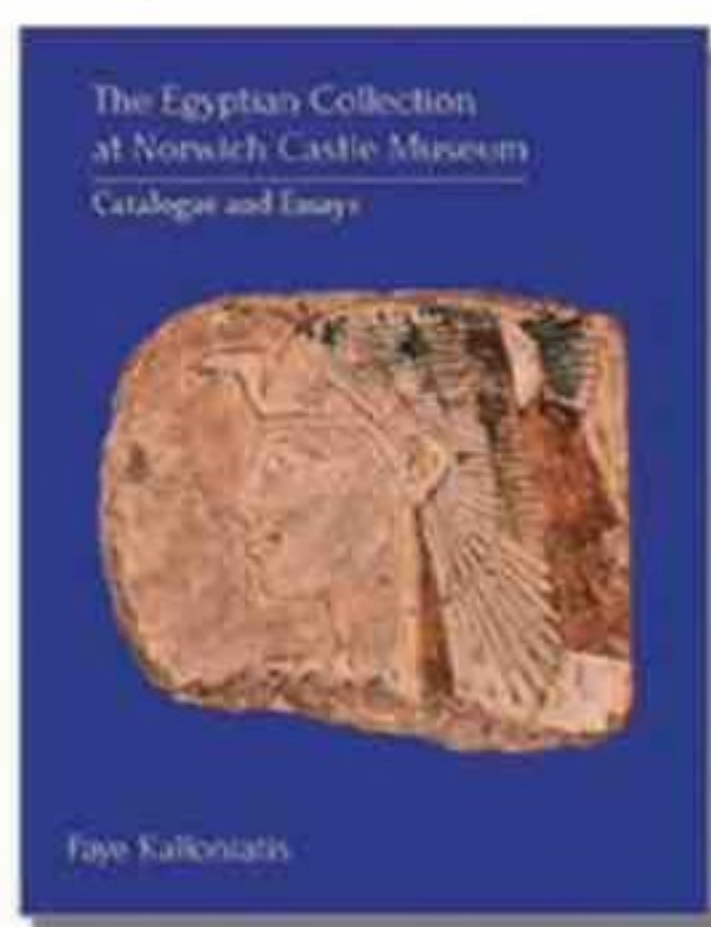
Catalogue and Essays.

by Faye Kalloniatis.

Oxbow Books, 2019

ISBN 978-1-7892-5196-8

Hardback, £45.



It is a rare occurrence in modern publishing to encounter a printed treatment of a single collection of objects as comprehensive as this. Faye Kalloniatis has assembled a huge amount of information on the collection of Norwich Castle Museum, giving a depth of coverage that many

museums – including the reviewer’s own – can only dream of. Importantly, she has mustered a team of specialists to comment on discrete parts of the collection, providing interpretational depth in addition to the value of the book as a catalogue in itself.

The volume opens with Kalloniatis’ own very useful overview of the history of the Norwich collection. Notably, this features the first proper discussion of the agency of local businessman (and mustard magnate) Jeremiah Colman (1830-1898), but also the Egyptophile writer Sir Rider Haggard, Greville Chester (clergyman and collector) and other donors. In a catalogue such as this it is interesting to establish what is known about each of these people early on, and see how the objects under discussion relate to (and were perhaps chosen by) each of them.

John Taylor provides a detailed commentary on the mummies and coffins of Ankhhor and Heribrer (of Dynasties Twenty-two and Twenty-five respectively); Irmtraut Munro discusses the recently-identified early Eighteenth Dynasty *Book of the Dead* shroud of Ipu; and Gabriele Wenzel writes about Norwich’s detailed painted granary model. Special consideration is given to all the texts that appear on the shroud, granary and mummy bandages – in an exemplary level of detail.

The rest of the volume resembles an archaeological finds report, and covers the full range of material held at Norwich – from coffins to amulets, with descriptions and footnotes citing parallels and relevant discussion elsewhere. Everything is illustrated by at least one black-and-white image, while many key items also appear in colour plates at the back of the volume.

The strength of this book is in its combination of serious, in-depth discussion and universal coverage. Similar projects for other collections have been frustrated by a variety of factors; so it is inspiring to see this traditional treatment applied to a significant group of objects. Hopefully, as well, this will bring the material in Norwich to a much wider audience, both among the interested public and scholars. And it is pleasing to report that this comprehensive catalogue of material is available at a reasonable price!

Campbell Price

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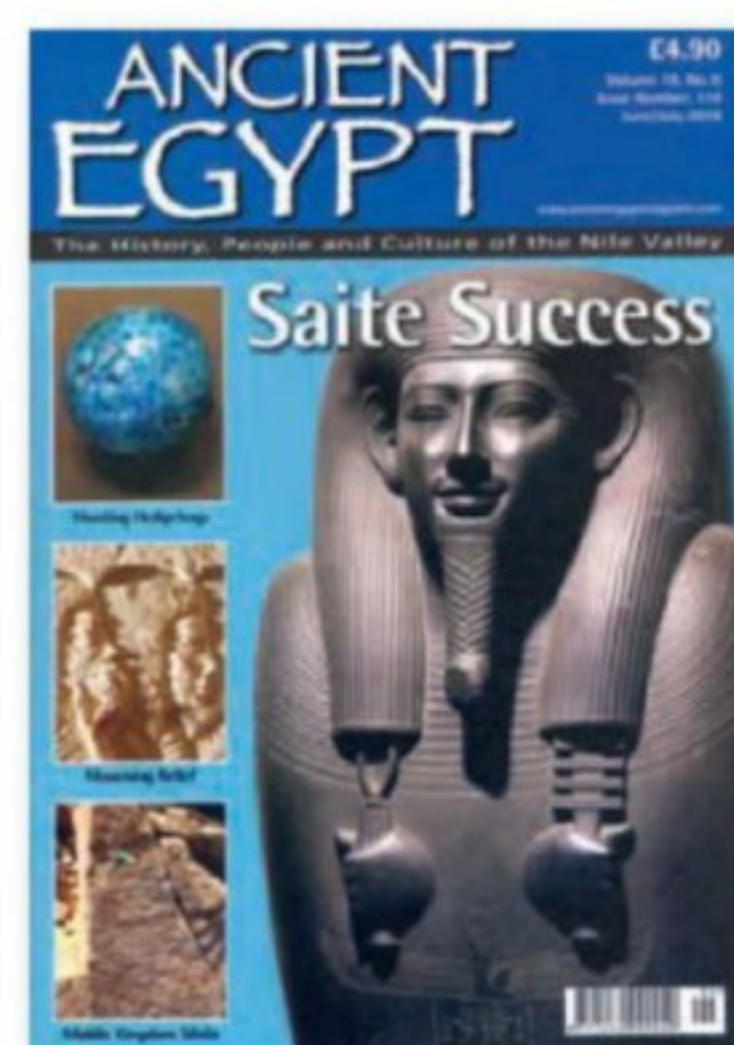
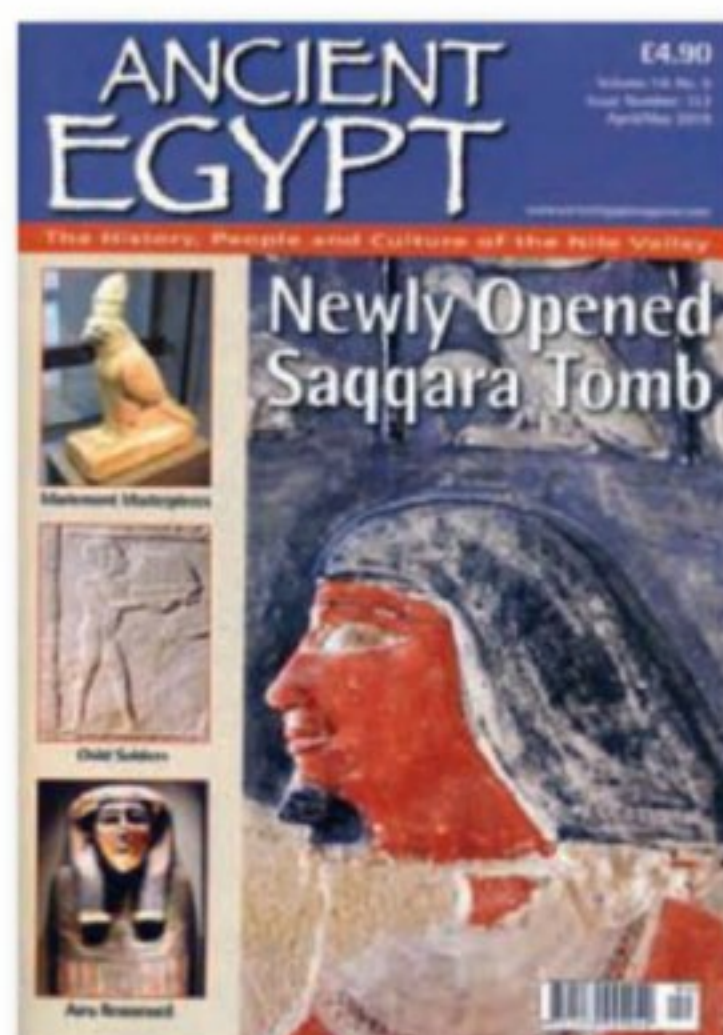
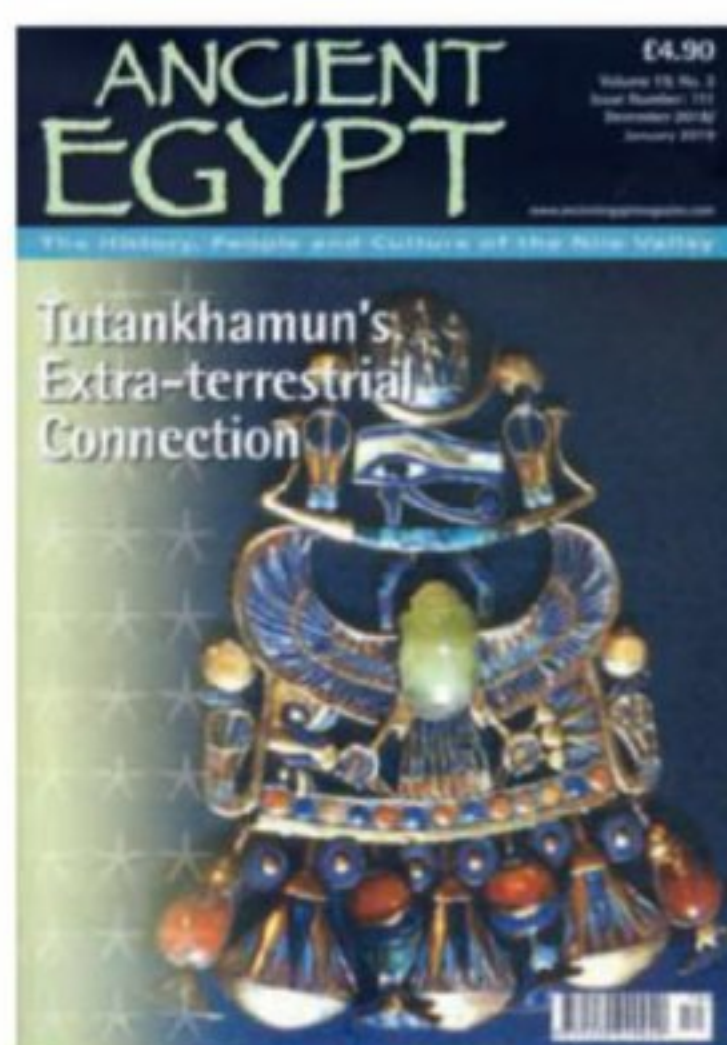
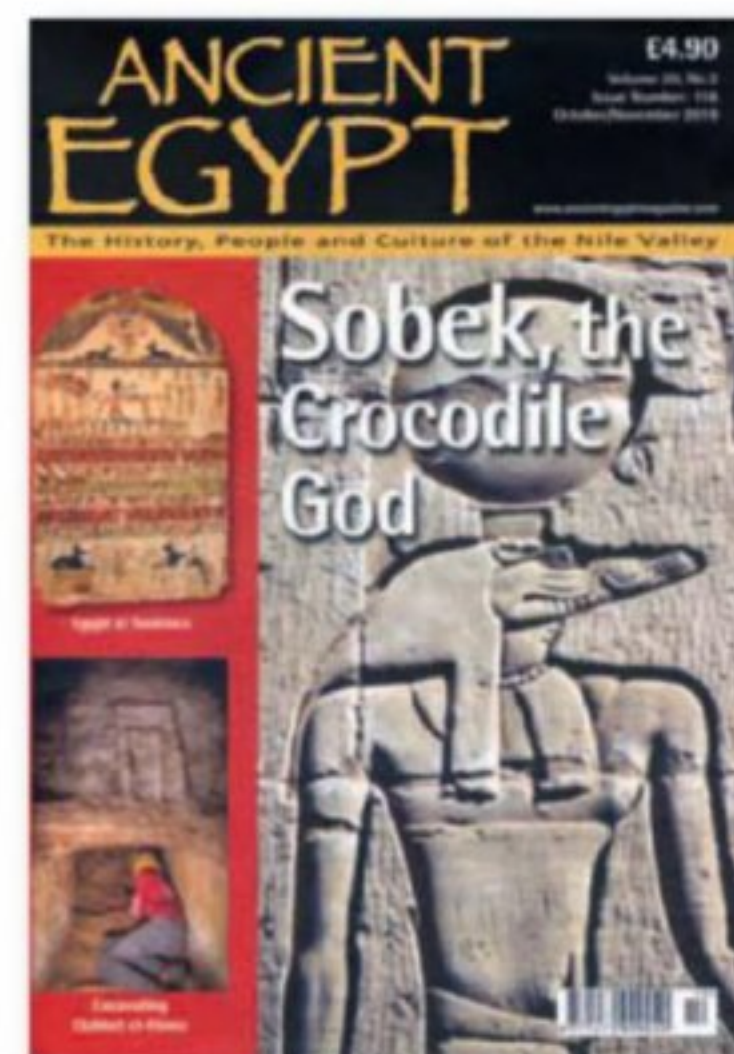
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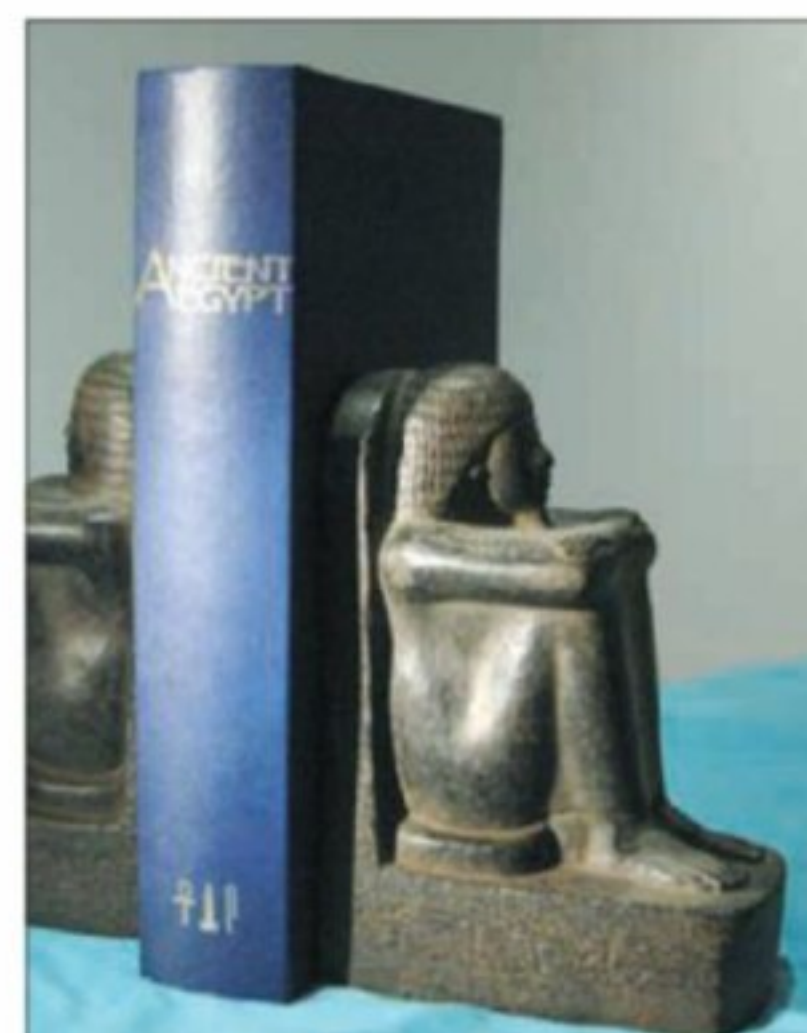
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Deadline for submission: all events entries should be received by **30th December 2019** for inclusion in the next issue. To add an event to the AE Events Diary, please contact the Editor, email: editor@ancientegyptmagazine.com

DECEMBER 2019

9th **Manchester Ancient Egypt Society**

Michael Tunnicliffe: *The Amarna Letters – The Canaan Correspondence.*

9th **Wirral Ancient Egypt Society**

Bursary Student: Lecture tbc. Plus AGM.

10th **Bolton Archaeology and Egyptology Society**

Jenny Cromwell: Lecture tbc.

10th **Egypt Society of Bristol**

Chris Naunton: Lecture tbc.

11th **The ANKH**

Dianne Long: Christmas Social with Egyptian Food Buffet.

11th **Friends of the Egypt Centre, Swansea**

Kenneth Griffin: *The Egypt Centre.*

14th **Southampton Ancient Egypt Society**

Anna Welch & Annette Winter: *Drink Like An Egyptian – Another Round.*

14th **Egyptian Society Taunton**

Robert Morkot: *Meroë, Where It Is Always Harvest.*

14th **Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society**

Alan Lloyd: *Cleopatra – How Much Egyptian?*

21st **Leicester Ancient Egypt Society**

Alexandre Loktionov: *When Egyptologists Were Secret Agents.*

11th **Ancient Egypt & Middle East Society**

Margaret Beaumont: *Law Codes of the Ancient Near East & The Royal Tombs of Ur.* Double Lecture.

11th **Sutton Ancient Egypt Society**

Gill Ekici: *Events Relating to Tutankhamun's Mummy.* Plus AGM

11th **Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society**

Ian Trumble: *Bolton's Egypt – The Making of a Museum.*

13th **Manchester Ancient Egypt Society**

Chris Naunton: *Searching for the Lost Tombs of Egypt.*

13th **Wirral Ancient Egypt Society**

Gina Muskett: *Egypt in Etruria – Excavations at Vulci in Italy.*

17th **Friends of the Petrie Museum**

John J. Johnston: *Lunar Lore in Ancient Egypt.*

18th **Leicester Ancient Egypt Society**

Xavier Droux: *A Royal Tomb from Predynastic Times.*

18th **RAMASES**

Dylan Bickerstaffe: Lecture tbc.

18th **Southampton Ancient Egypt Society**

Sarah Griffiths: *Nebhepetra Mentuhotep and the Return of the Pooh-Bahs.*

23rd **Carlisle and District Egyptology Society**

Nicky Neilsen: *Pyramidiot – How We Became Obsessed with Ancient Egypt.*

24th **Poynton Egypt Group**

Penny Wilson: *Ancient Egyptian Delta Myths.*

25th **Kemet Klub Bristol**

Maiken Mosleth King: *The Art of Ancient Egypt and its Christian Parallels.* Study Day.

25th **Egyptology Scotland – Glasgow Venue**

Lyla Pinch-Brock: *Tracking down Takhat – A Sarcophagus Restoration with Some Surprise.*

25th **Sussex Egyptology Society – Horsham Venue**

Aaron DeSouza: *Recent Excavations at Hierakonpolis and Current Research on Middle Nubian Traditions.*

28th **Egypt Society of Bristol**

Maiken Mosleth King: *Be of Good Cheer – The Eulogy in Roman Egypt.*

FEBRUARY 2020

1st **Essex Egyptology Group**

Dora Goldsmith: *The Smells of Mummification.* Half-Day Workshop.

1st **Northampton Ancient Egyptian Historical Society**

Paolo Scremin: *The Tomb Chapel of Nefer and his Father Kahay.*

1st **Plymouth and District Egyptology Society**

John Wyatt: *The Other Gift of the Nile – Ancient Egypt's Wildlife.*

2nd **Essex Egyptology Group**

Dora Goldsmith: *The Olfactory Landscape of Lovemaking in Ancient Egypt.*

5th **Staffordshire Egyptology Society**

Nicky Neilsen: *The Reception of Ancient Egypt in the Ancient and Modern World.*

6th **Horus Egyptology Society**

John Johnson: *Women in Ancient Egypt.*

8th **Egyptian Society Taunton**

Vanessa Foott: *Ramesses III – Why He Came to a Nasty End.*



MAJOR EVENTS

25th January 2020

**UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
KNH CENTRE FOR BIOMEDICAL
EGYPTOLOGY**

**11th ANNUAL STUDY DAY:
THE BELFAST MUMMY**

A study day devoted to the research being carried out on Takabuti, known as the 'Belfast Mummy' with Rosalie David, Roger Forshaw *et al.*

University of Manchester, Roscoe Building, Theatre B, Brunswick Street, Manchester M13 9PL

www.bitly/KNHMummy

22nd–27th June 2020

TRIESTE, ITALY

**ECE IX – NINTH EUROPEAN
CONFERENCE OF
EGYPTOLOGISTS.
EGYPT 2020: PERSPECTIVES OF
RESEARCH**

A conference focussing on ongoing research in all fields of Egyptology. Call for papers – deadline for submission 31st December 2019.

www.egyptologicalconference.eu/ice-ix

27th–28th August 2020

**UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
3RD LADY WALLIS BUDGE
EGYPTOLOGY SYMPOSIUM:
COMPULSION AND CONTROL IN
ANCIENT EGYPT**

This conference about strategies which would have allowed both the official state and locally powerful elites to get individuals to do their bidding without relying on the force of the law. Call for papers – deadline for submission 15th January 2020.

www.budgesymposium3.wordpress.com

4th–6th September 2020

**DURHAM UNIVERSITY
FIFTH BRITISH EGYPTOLOGY
CONGRESS (BEC5)**

A platform for researchers to present their ongoing projects and discoveries to a broad audience of peers and the interested public through presentations or posters. Call for papers – deadline for submission 17th February 2020.

www.ees.ac.uk/news/bec5-call-for-paper

MARCH 2020

1st **Essex Egyptology Group**

Paolo Scremin: *Photographing the Tombs of Ancient Egypt.*

4th **Staffordshire Egyptology Society**

Dylan Bickerstaffe: *For Whom the Sun Doth Shine – Nefertari Beloved of Mut.*

7th **Plymouth and District Egyptology Society**

Scott Williams: *Archaeology of a Future Past – Digital Saqqara.*

9th **Manchester Ancient Egypt Society**

Janet McWilliam: *Ramesses III and the Battle of the Delta.*

9th **Wirral Ancient Egypt Society**

Judith Corbelli: *Decoration in Graeco-Roman Egypt, Part 2: Stelae and Loculus Slabs.*

EXHIBITIONS

**Showing until 20th January 2020
BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
ANCIENT NUBIA NOW**

An exhibition featuring more than 400 highlights from the MFA collection, many of which have never before exhibited

Avenue of the Arts, 465 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115
mfa.org/exhibitions/nubia

**Showing until 3rd May 2020
SAATCHI GALLERY, LONDON
TUTANKHAMUN: TREASURES OF
THE GOLDEN PHARAOH**

An exhibition showcasing the largest-ever number of Tutankhamun objects to leave Egypt.

Saatchi Gallery, The Duke of York's HQ, Sloane Square, London, SW3 4RY
saatchigallery.com/art/tutankhamun.php

8th **Thames Valley Ancient Egypt Society**

Stephanie Moser: *The Reception of Ancient Egypt in Victorian Britain.*

8th **The Society for the Study of Ancient Egypt Main – Chesterfield Venue**

Aidan Dodson: *Ramesses III – King of Egypt.*

10th **Manchester Ancient Egypt Society**

Rosalie David: *Takabuti – A New Investigation of the Belfast Mummy.*

10th **Wirral Ancient Egypt Society**

Bursary Student and Members Research.

15th **Egyptology Scotland – Edinburgh Venue**

Daniel Potter: *Burns and Meramuniotes – the Stories of Two Families 2000 Years Apart.*

15th **Leicester Ancient Egypt Society**

Penny Wilson: *The Wedjat Eye – Wellbeing Particles and Totality.*

15th **Southampton Ancient Egypt Society**

Lee Young: *The Life and Work of Nina de Garis Davies.*

15th **Sussex Egyptology Society – Brighton Venue**

Stephanie Moser: *Representing Ancient Egypt – Victorian Artists and Designers.*

21st **Friends of the Petrie Museum**

Zahed Tajeddin: *Egyptian Faience Bead Production in Iran – Bronze Age Tech in the 21st Century.*

26th **The ANKH**

Virginia Webb: *Talking About Faience.*

27th **Carlisle and District Egyptology Society**

Lee Robert McStein: *3D Scanning and Graffiti on the Monuments of Ancient Egypt.*

28th **Poynton Egypt Group**

Bryony Renshaw: Lecture tbc.

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Contact names, telephone and email/website contacts for UK societies are listed here. To reduce the space used for overseas societies, only the website or email contacts are normally shown. Full details, including postal addresses, can be found on the magazine's web site www.ancientegyptmagazine.com. If readers without email access require postal address details, please contact the magazine's Publishers or the Editor (contact details on page 3). To register changes to this information, please contact the Editor.

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www.egyptology-uk.com

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www.bnss.org.uk/

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secretarywmes@outlook.com
<https://wmcgyptology.wordpress.com/>

WIRRAL Ancient Egypt Society MERSEYSIDE
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www.waes.org.uk

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AUSTRALIA
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PERTH
www.aeswa.org.au

Australian Centre for Egyptology MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
www.egyptology.mq.edu.au

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Association Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth a.s.b.l./ Egyptologisch Genootschap Koningin Elisabeth VZW
BRUXELLES
www.aere-egke.be/aere.eng.htm

Egyptologica a.s.b.l.
BRUXELLES
www.egyptologica.be

Egyptologica Vlaanderen VZW LEUVEN
www.egyptologica-vlaanderen.be/home.htm
Kheper a.s.b.l.
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www.kheper.be

Ptah-Hotep a.s.b.l.
Association d'Égyptologie Belge
WATERLOO
www.ptah-hotep.be

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The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne
– Head Office, Toronto.
www.thessca.org

– Montreal Chapter/
Chapitre du Québec à Montréal
<http://sscmontrcalvip.homestead.com/anglais.htm>

Egyptology Society Contact Details

– Calgary Chapter

www3.telus.net/public/james135/CalgarySSEA.htm

– Vancouver Chapter

www.sseavancouver.wordpress.com

DENMARK

The Danish Egyptological Society
COPENHAGEN
www.daes.dk

EGYPT

Reviving the Egyptian Identity.
CAIRO.
www.egyptianism.org

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Les Amis de Thot
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<http://centrelanguedocienegyptologie.blogspot.fr/>

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Association Égyptologique de la Gironde
http://aeg.u-bordeaux3.fr/?page_id=80

Grenoble (38)
Association Dauphinoise d'Égyptologie CHAMPOLLION (ADEC)
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<http://didier.laffaille.pagesperso-orange.fr/Aerea/Association.htm#Ancr4>

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Papyrus
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<http://asso.univ-lyon2.fr/cercle-egyptologie>

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Association alsacienne d'Égyptologie
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www.lesamisdechampollion.fr

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Uruguayan Society of Egyptology
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USA

American Research Center in Egypt – US Office
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www.ocpl.org/lectures/egypt.asp

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Washington, DC Chapter
www.arcedc.org/

The Egyptian Study Society, Inc. DENVER
www.egyptstudy.org

U.K. Museum Websites

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
www.ashmol.ox.ac.uk

Birmingham Museum & Art Gallery
www.bmag.org.uk

Bolton Museum & Art Gallery
www.boltonmuseums.org.uk

Bristol City Museum & Art Gallery
www.bristol-city.gov.uk/museums

The British Museum
www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk

Durham University Oriental Museum
www.dur.ac.uk/orientalmuseum

Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, Coventry
www.theherbert.org

The Egypt Centre, Swansea
www.swan.ac.uk

The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk

The Great North Museum, Newcastle
www.twmuseums.org.uk

The Manchester Museum
www.museum.man.ac.uk

The Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, London
www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk

Museum of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, Liverpool
www.liv.ac.uk/sace

New Walk Museum & Art Gallery, Leicester
www.leicestermuseums.ac.uk

National Museum of Scotland
www.nms.ac.uk/scotland

Victoria and Albert Museum, London
www.vam.ac.uk

West Park Museum, Macclesfield
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www.silkmaccesfield.org.uk

World Museum, Liverpool
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A one week tour based in Luxor at the Old Winter Palace, Garden Pavilion Wing, focussing on two key, yet often less-celebrated, kings of the later New Kingdom.

The tour is escorted throughout by Professor Aidan Dodson who has been accompanying tours to Egypt for over 25 years. He is author of over twenty books, including biographies of Sethy I & Rameses III.



DEPARTING 6th JAN 2020

SETHY I & RAMESES III

With Prof Aidan Dodson

During our week we have included an exciting excursion to venture in to Wadi Abad on the edge of the Eastern Desert, with special private entry to the rarely-visited rock-cut Temple of Sethy I at Kanais.

We also take a day to explore the stunning temple of Sethy I, the Osireion and the Temple of Rameses II at Abydos.



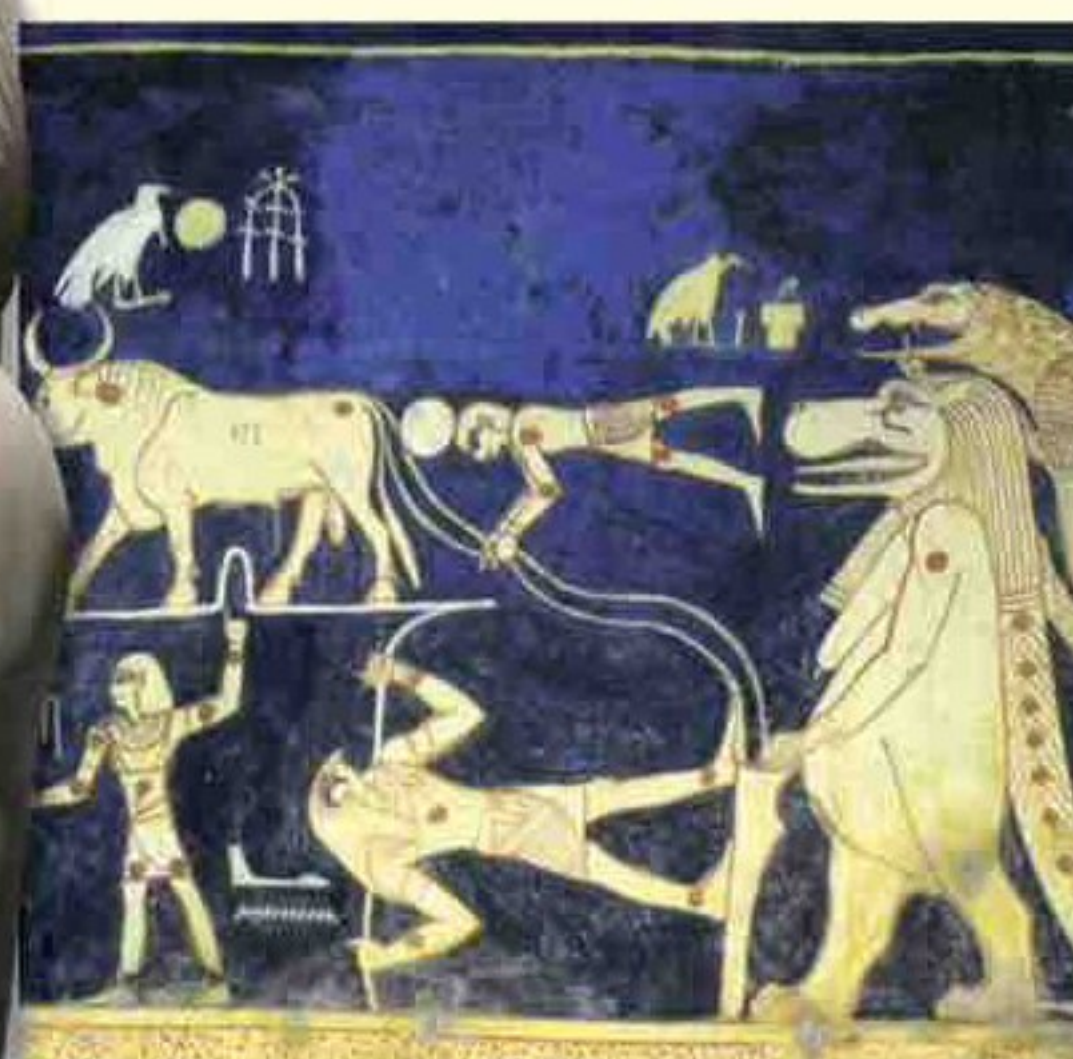
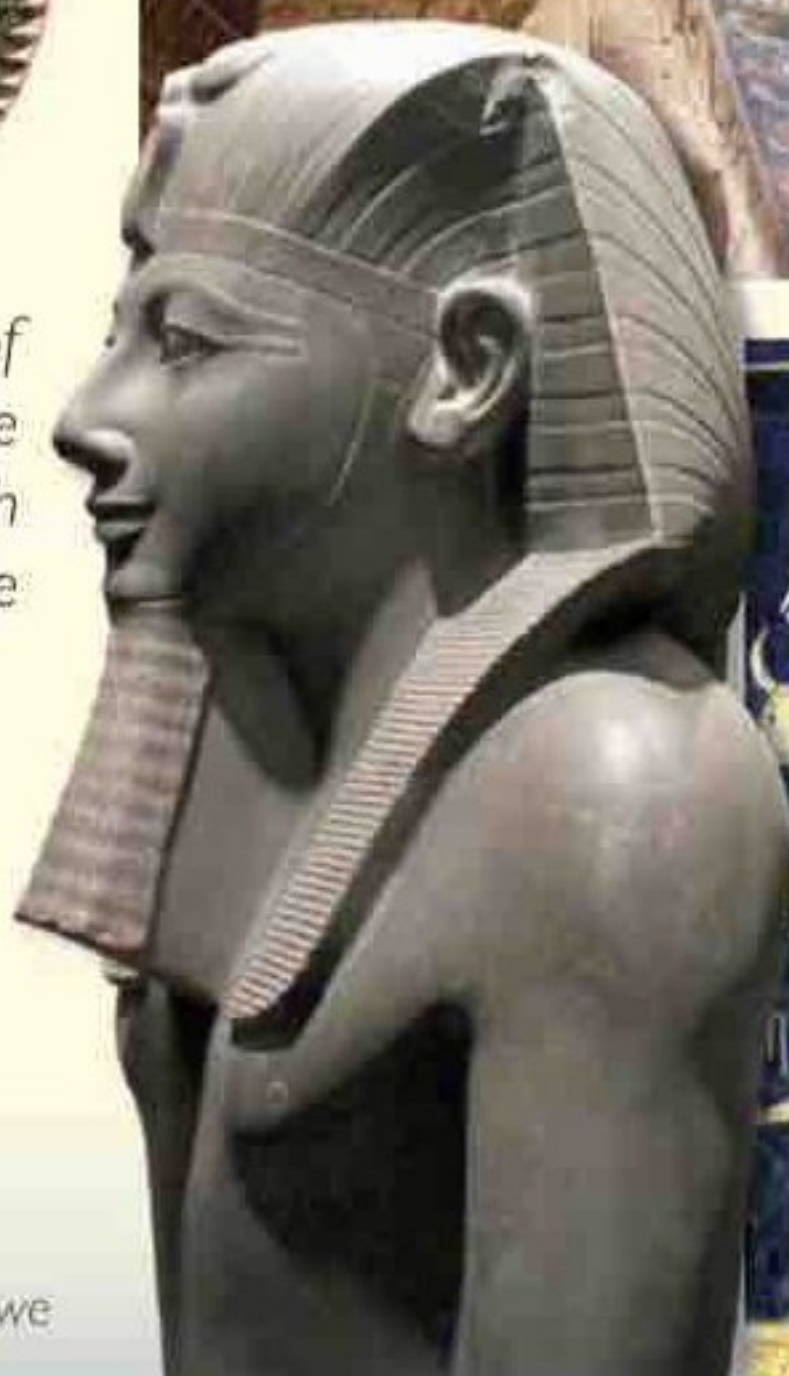
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